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The Week

IT may be true that German troops are marching into Russia to perfect their quarantine against the Bolshevik infection, or it may be true that they are advancing for the liberation of the small nationalities from the tyranny of the Bolsheviki, as one Berlin speaker put it; but it may also be true that the German advance is a foraging expedition on a huge scale. In the first two days the booty was nearly 1,400 cannon, 1,000 motor cars, immense food stores, and an "incalculable" amount of other war material. Had the submission of the Bolsheviki been accepted at once, this property would have remained in Russian hands. Now, before the German march is over, several thousand cannon will go to swell German resources for action against the western front. With the enormous captures in Italy last autumn Germany has added to her stock the equivalent of many months' weary labor in Allied munition factories and the strain upon many thousand tons of Allied shipping.

In an army order to the German troops Prince Leopold of Bavaria states that the aim of the advance is not annexation, but the reëstablishment of order and the prevention of the spread of Anarchist infection into western Europe.

THE German Government has met the Bolshevik challenge in direct fashion from the beginning. According to the Leninist conception, the Bolshevik gospel would raise revolution in Germany before the German army could overwhelm Russia. The German Government said, "Very well, let's see." The Bolsheviki went to Brest-Litovsk to talk to the German people over the heads of the German diplomats. They argued that William II's consent to do business with a proletarian government was a confession of defeat. William II said, "Very well, I'll take a chance." At present the Bolshevik argument still runs that the German Government dare not strike out against a defenceless Russia because it would mean that Germany is making war against proletarianism. And the German Government is quite frank about it: "We are making war on proletarianism; we are out to check the spread of Anarchist infection." According to the Lenine ideology, the further the German armies press into Russia the greater is the ultimate triumph of the fundamental Bolshevik principles. The German Government is willing to concede Lenine that triumph.

THE taking over by the British army of part of the French army's front south of St. Quentin is an effective comment on the truth of Repington's pessimistic figures about the depletion of British man-power in France. If the shortage of troops were indeed what Repington has made it out to be, one can hardly imagine the British further thinning out their line at a moment when the German battering ram is expected to strike anywhere along the entire western front. With this incident must be coupled recent reports of increasing raids by the French on an elaborate scale. Such raids have been usually the preliminary to large-scale operations, and a raid in which the French take five hundred prisoners, as they did the other day, described by Berlin as a reconnaissance in force, is significant. Can it be that the Allies have a surprise for their public, and that the western offensive will come soon—in the form of an Allied offensive?

THE British War Office reports the capture of Jericho, which, with its great concrete bridge, its concentration of tracks and roads, and its convenient fords, is an important military base. Its capture gives the British another road leading northward to the Turkish base at Nablus, or Schechem. Gen. Allenby's advance, since his capture of Jerusalem, has been rather slow. The spreading out of his lines northeast of the city has apparently been preparatory to a move having in view the seizure of the Jordan Valley and a blow at the Mecca railway lying still further east. Throughout the Sinai-Syrian campaign the British moves have been separated by long periods of inactivity, taken up with preparation for attack. Gen. Allenby need no longer, as heretofore, hurry on account of the approach of warm weather. In the region now occupied by his troops, campaigning the whole year round is possible. The only need for haste now would be the fear of a Turkish recrudescence under leadership and with help of the Germans released by Russia's fiasco.

THE defeat of the Centrist candidate in Coblenz by an advocate of a speedy, negotiated peace adds another straw to the many we have already had showing which way the political wind in Germany is blowing, despite official declarations. The recent Reichstag elections, which brought a great increase of the independent, radical, Socialist vote, proved that dissatisfaction was rife with Hertling's policy of refusing to use the Reichstag no-annexations resolution as a basis for peace. Now comes this new evidence from the heart of Rhenish Prussia, from a great military centre, in fact. The Centrist candidate was a man, apparently of some distinction, obviously selected for the respect he could command in the community. In his day he had been a Reichstag delegate, an educator, and a publicist, a man, on the whole, it would appear, of rather liberal trend. So that his defeat would seem to have been on the plain peace issue. Official Prussian intransigency, therefore, notwithstanding, those of us who hope for reason and moderation from the German people need not altogether despair.

BY his truculent refusal to take part in the conferences taking place among the labor representatives of the Allied countries with a view to common action concerning war aims and peace terms, Mr. Gompers may strengthen his position with those who can see nothing but the military aspects of the war, but he will scarcely increase among thoughtful people his reputation for statesmanlike vision and sound sense. Thinking people realize that the present struggle far transcends the clash of arms. Arthur Henderson has well pointed out the fundamental importance of the part labor must play in securing a just peace. Can it be that by the narrowness and lack of understanding of one man American labor is to be deprived of the opportunity of doing its part in this patriotic task? It is to be hoped

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that the deputation that is to visit this country from the Inter-Allied Labor Conference may help Mr. Gompers to realize something of the spirit that is stirring the workers of the Allied countries and may bring him to a more reasonable frame of mind concerning his duty as the responsible leader of the American movement. No one doubts Mr. Gompers's patriotism; let him now show us his wisdom.

THE agreement reached at last between our Government and that of Norway is another step in the clearing up of our relations with the neutrals. As a matter of fact, Washington had the complete whip hand of the situation, as neither Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, nor Holland can get along without our supplies. On the other hand, these countries are equally dependent for a number of necessary imports on Germany. Therefore it was out of the question to forbid them all trade with our enemy. Yet we could stipulate that our goods should not go directly, or replace Norwegian exports, to the Teutonic countries. The process of reaching an agreement has been slow because our Government had to have sufficient statistics upon which to base its calculation of Norway's actual needs. Though we had the "giant's strength," we had not the will to use it as a giant. It was better to be slow and conciliatory than speedy and imperious. Doubtless a similar agreement with Holland will soon be reached. The pact with Spain was a much simpler matter, since there was no problem of direct trade relations with Germany. Very soon this whole neutral problem promises to be completely settled.

TEMPORARILY, at least, the sailing vessel has become again a factor on the seas. The necessities of war have caused the trading nations of the world to make use of all their maritime resources. During the period before the war there had been a steady decline in the importance of sailing ships. A certain revival took place more than a decade ago due to the introduction of auxiliary power on wind-propelled ships. It was found that a very small crew could handle a great sailing ship with an engine doing the heavy work, raising the sails, loading and unloading the freight. The seven-masted schooners of the size of the Thomas W. Lawson were laid down, and for a time seemed to be profitable. But this revival proved transitory. Now, however, sailing ships are coming again into their own. The present negotiations with the Norwegian Government show how valuable everything that can stagger along over the ocean is to the Entente. The U-boat has not only added an element of horror to the story of the sea; it has also given rebirth to an older element of romance.

THE return of Viscount Ishii to the United States, this time as Japanese Ambassador, means undoubtedly that the interrupted negotiation with Japan, in regard to ships from her and ship-plates from us, will be resumed. There is no reason why a practical working agreement should not be reached. Ishii's success on his previous special mission augurs well for his efforts in this particular and particularly important matter. We may take it also that his appointment has a bearing upon the delicate relations of Japan to the nations at war with Germany, especially as concerns the increasingly grave difficulties threatening in the Far East. All ways, the new Ambassador from Japan may count upon a cordial welcome from a Government and a people already prepossessed in his favor.

THE war over the war bills is over. "As a result of negotiations between Democratic and Republican leaders," a bulletin from the front informs us, the treaty is almost ready. The Overman bill, which made entirely too many annexations for Republicans to concede, has been modified, or, in the language of diplomacy, is "better understood," and will be reported out, while the War Cabinet and Munitions Minister bills will be *spurlos versenkt*. This does not mean, of course, that all appearances of hostilities will cease. Plans of General Political Staffs cannot be changed merely because conditions have altered. The bombardment arranged for a certain Friday, the gas attack ordered for a Monday, must be made, even though representatives of both sides wait with pens in their hands ready to affix their signatures to the treaty of peace.

THE Government announces that on February 13 over 1,000,000 soldiers and sailors and army and navy nurses had taken insurance under the Military and Naval Insurance act, the amount of insurance at that time outstanding being more than $8,000,000,000. The magnitude of this business will be appreciated when it is realized that this is more than three times as much as the ordinary insurance in force with any life insurance company in the world. The far-seeing wisdom of our insurance legislation in forestalling a generation of pension scandals has been repeatedly emphasized in the months just past. It is gratifying to see how widely beneficiaries of the law are taking advantage of it. Great credit is due to the press and the life insurance companies, which have heartily seconded the efforts of the Government and have had no small part in the great success of the insurance campaign. Particularly intelligent has been the work of the companies, which, instead of opposing the Government as a dangerous competitor in their own field, have looked upon its action as the best possible advertisement for their business, and have coöperated with it in spreading the gospel in the camps.

IN another laudable effort to discover the missing hired man, an official at Washington is urging "war vacations" for city workers. If they cannot be enticed back to the soil for a few days in the name of patriotism and a coat of tan, these people will simply have to be drafted, but it is thought that few stenographers will refuse Uncle Sam two weeks among the haycocks. Yet farmers as well as army men have manifested pardonable resentment at the various proposals to conscript for their ranks all forms of life from the parlor snake to the drug addict. The farmers, moreover, have questioned whether their technique can be learned in even a whole vacation; and this new prospect of a throng of transient and bucolically unsophisticated aides calls forth protest from a hitherto patient partner of the farmer's griefs. In the Detroit *Free Press* "a farmer's wife" asks if she will be expected to take breakfast trays up to the vacation helpers which the Government insists shall be hers. She is appalled by anticipated complaints about mosquitoes, noisy roosters, and the bathing facilities afforded by the old swimming-hole.

THE managers of a railway corporation who put $150,000,000 into track and terminals and opened the line without rolling stock would be thought insane. Our State Government has waited in vain for private capital to assure adequate utilization of the Barge Canal, and has yet re-

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ceived no intimation that the Federal Government will assist. Army engineers have recommended an appropriation for barges for the Canal, and it would be possible for the Shipping Board, which has set aside $3,360,000 for constructing steamboats and barges on the upper Mississippi, to cover the need without going to Congress. But as the Canal is under State management, what more logical than for the State to take charge of organizing a company for the construction and possible operation of canalboats? The Federal Government could assist to the extent to which it will want barges built to continue voyages from Buffalo past New York for coastal trips. The cost of building a considerable fleet would not be over the $2,000,000 that Senator Sage sets as the capitalization of the company proposed in his new bill, or little more than the Federal Government has spent on the dam and lock at Troy, or the State on some of its terminals.

IN a letter to the *Evening Post,* Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson calls attention to a little known but important feature of the public services of the late Senator Newlands —his warm devotion to the interests of art. His championship of the National Art Commission and of the McKim-Olmstead-Burnham plan for the beautification of Washington, his support of the American Federation of Arts and the American Academy of Arts and Letters are but incidents in the career of one of whom Mr. Johnson says, "Good art was part of his gospel of civilization." We have not had in public life too large a number of servants of whom this could be truly said, and we can ill afford to lose Senator Newlands at a time when demands for action are pressing upon us so imperatively as to threaten with eclipse the claims of the ideal. It is to be hoped that after the war, as Mr. Johnson suggests, we may see a new drift towards art and literature. The strong demand of the British Labor party for a public fostering of art is a hopeful sign of a popular attitude much to be desired. Perhaps we shall see put to the test the idea that a developed democracy will be of all forms of social organization the most favorable to great literature, painting, sculpture, and music. We may draw inspiration from the career of Francis G. Newlands, who, absorbed in a busy public career, was yet never too occupied to take time to encourage the art that feeds men's souls.

LIKE that other Irish novelist, Canon Sheehan, who refused an Australian bishopric, Canon Hannay is content to end his career a parish clergyman. "George A. Birmingham" in 1913 left his rectorship in County Mayo, after twenty-one years' service, to devote himself wholly to writing. Now he has gone back to a charge in County Kildare. That the war years have not been productive for him is explained by his work as a chaplain in France. But it is to be hoped that the man who came nearer than any other to bringing back to life what Thackeray called the "Harry Rollickers" of Irish fiction will find time to evoke more such characters as Gen. John Regan and Dr. Whitty. If he feels moved to try his serious vein again, Irish life in war time will provide material. Ireland has been more than ever, to use one of his titles, "The Seething Pot." But we should rather have the fantastic, extravagant, sometimes boisterous tone of "Irishmen All." The war a century ago gave us Charles O'Malley the Irish dragoon, and Tom Burke the Peninsular campaigner.

A Time for Faith

IT is a time of profound discouragement. A year ago we greeted with joy the rising sun of liberty in Russia. To-day we see it sinking below the western horizon in a welter of anarchy and civil war, and limned against the darkling sky, lighted now and again by the flash of the torch, we see an endless procession of soldiers in spiked helmets marching, marching, ever onward to fresh victories. Our hearts are filled with blazing indignation against the war lords of Berlin, who have begun this wanton, plundering attack on helpless Russia, which asks only bread and peace —and liberty. But we are filled with a chilling fear, a doubt lest the sacred spirit of liberty negate itself by its own excesses in Russia and be snuffed out beneath the spiked helmet. Becoming impatient with that very undisciplined spirit of liberty itself, and turning in disgust from the blundering would-be democratic colossus of the east to our own more sober republican life, we steel ourselves for a fresh assault upon the stronghold of autocratic militarism, forgetting the radiant visions of a year gone, the dreams of a purified, democratized Germany, the hopes of a world at peace in which the people rule. It is indeed a dark hour.

But it is a time for stern purpose, a time for high resolve —above all, a time for undaunted faith. In stern purpose, in high resolve, we have no fear that America will fail. The spirit that carried us through the Brandywine and Valley Forge, through Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville and the black days of the Wilderness—that spirit, thank God, still lives in our people. And the faith, too, we believe, still lives and burns in the heart of the American people, and in the heart of all peoples everywhere, the faith in liberty of the human spirit as the most precious possession of mankind, the faith in self-government by the people as the only form of government that can permanently maintain itself with the onward progress of knowledge and thought, the faith in the common people who through all the weary ages have been the pawns of the war lords and the sport of kings. That faith still lives. "Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea," though the Kaiser's hosts march into Petrograd—yes, though the western battle front roll up as a scroll and William Hohenzollern again stand in the palace where his imperial grandfather was crowned half a century ago. While that faith lives, we cannot be defeated.

And so in this dark hour again we raise the same old battle cry of the spirit that has sounded through all the ages, the cry of the prophets and Socrates and Jesus, of John Huss and Savonarola, of Arnold von Winkelried and Jan of Barneveld, of Hampden and Washington and Kosciuszko and Lafayette and Lamennais, of Bolivar and Toussaint L'Ouverture and Lincoln, of Schurz and Kossuth and Mazzini and Gambetta, of Breshkovsky and Liebknecht. Shall we prove recreant to such a faith because Russia, for centuries ground under the heel of tyranny, has in the very act of breaking the shackles not learned to use altogether wisely the newfound liberty? England had her Commonwealth and Restoration, the United States the dark years of the Confederation, France the bloody days of the Revolution—and shall we despair of the Russia of Tolstoy and Kropotkin and Breshkovsky? Whoso fears, let him read the straightforward account of the Russian ideal found elsewhere on our pages, and let him ask himself if all the Kaiser's hosts can conquer such a

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spirit. Our faith is in the peoples, who have now accomplished what three years scheming by the diplomats had failed to bring about, have made clear to all the world, both without and within the Central Empires, the insane lust of conquest that animates the mad militarists of Berlin. Our faith is in the peoples, who with the flaming sword of truth have driven from the temple the imperialist money-changers of the Allied countries, and have purified Allied war aims till it is possible for a real democrat to breathe in their atmosphere. Our faith is in the peoples, who have forced dickering statesmen at last to do more than lip service to the democratic principles of no annexations, no punitive indemnities, and self-determination of peoples.

And though the moment tarry, though we cannot yet see the peoples of Central Europe coming to join the great rising democratic tide, still we refuse to despair of the masses of Germany and Austria. The enormous progress that the last year has brought in freeing Allied war aims of the taint of imperialism and conquest cannot be forever without result among the people of Germany; already its results are manifest in Austria. Steadily the leaders are being unmasked, and the people, mistaught, misguided, misled, even though they be for the moment swept by the delirium of conquest, will none the less come back to the principles of international fair dealing. Our faith is in those eternal principles of right and justice and love that have been trampled underfoot by the militarist autocrats of Berlin from the day they hurled their embattled hosts at a helpless Belgium up to the hour when they set their armies on the march in the direction of a defenceless Petrograd. That faith is invincible; and so we bend to our task. Of that faith no German triumph in arms can rob us. Not in exultation, but in prayer again we cry, as we cried a long year ago, "All hail, free Russia!"

Towards Self-Government in India

EVENTS of a more dramatic nature and nearer home have given us little leisure for the great stirring towards democracy that has been under way in the Indian sub-continent. When Secretary of State Montagu sailed for India some months ago to inform himself on the fundamentals of the problem of self-government for the people of Hindustan, he passed out of the ken of Western eyes. Yet there is drama enough in the story of a great awakening as one finds it recorded in a single number of an Anglo-Indian weekly publication. To the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, deputations from all corners of the peninsula have addressed themselves, speaking for India as a whole, speaking for its separate provinces which are in themselves nations. Deputations come from Bengal, with its forty-two millions of people, or more than the population of France; from the United Provinces, with their forty-six millions, or more than twice the population of Spain: from the Punjab. Deputations come from different classes and communities, from Hindus and Moslems, from Sikhs, from Anglo-Indians. A country with two-thirds the population of Europe is in ferment.

But even more impressive than the extent and intensity of the stirring among the peoples of India is the remarkable approach to a unity of plan and purpose. It was the classic argument of the thick-and-thin defenders of the British supremacy and British governmental methods that they were demanded by that chaos of races, religions, and castes which is India. The British *raj* and the *Pax Britannica* were the guarantees for order and justice in a land where otherwise the nationalities would be flying at each other's throats and the rich and strong would grind the faces of the poor. The outstanding example was the historic feud between Hindus and Mohammedans, the former in a numerical majority, but the latter formidable enough in numbers, and more so in militant qualities, to threaten perpetual civil war with the removal of the British overlordship. How far this racial and religious feud really ate down into Indian life and continues to do so the outsider will not venture to say. But so insistent was the stress on this Hindu versus Moslem problem as a fundamental factor in Indian life that one reads with a start of a joint Hindu-Moslem delegation presenting a joint Hindu-Moslem programme of reforms to Secretary of State Montagu. In fact, the programme on which the present agitation bases itself was drafted back in 1916 by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League. And minor creeds and races have rallied to the joint formula.

Was the clash of races and religions in India largely the artificial product of British machinations, for obvious purposes, as enemies of the British rule have charged—the old scheme of *Divide et impera?* Or have real animosities been forgotten in the new hope that rises for the Indian peoples, and with the hope of a budding sense of all-Indian nationality? Or is the union of Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, and Anglo-Indians merely a temporary alliance for common gain? Have the Moslems been driven into union with the Hindus by resentment against England's warfare upon the one important Mohammedan state, Turkey? Too cynical an interpretation of forces and motives will be eschewed by those who know how frequently before this a complex of motives has worked for national progress and national unity; not excluding our own United States. The outstanding fact is that the masses or their representatives in India now think very much alike on the essentials of India's national needs and national rights as formulated in the Congress-League programme. There is general agreement that complete home rule for India, on an equality with the other British dominions, is for the future. The Hindu-Moslem scheme concedes that the Government of India shall remain responsible to the British Government and Parliament in the matter of foreign relations, Indian defence, and the affairs of the native states. In all other matters control is to be exercised by a Legislature, of which one-fifth the membership is to be appointed and four-fifths elected. In the Executive Council one-half the members shall be Indian.

This process of democratization is intended to work down to the provinces, which are to take the same model for their legislative and executive councils, and to which the central government of India is to cede much of the power now concentrated in its hands. By this scheme of provincial home rule the racial and religious problem is partially ameliorated where provincial boundaries correspond with racial demarcations. But an additional safeguard against the oppression of minorities is embodied in the provision giving a veto to three-fourths of the representatives of any "community" in the legislative councils on any measure affecting the interests of that "community." It is the principle of self-determination and cultural autonomy that is bound to establish itself in the world, in spite of to-day's drear aspect in Russia.

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Embattling the Farmers

THE effort of national and State Governments to raise agricultural production to a maximum, despite hearty coöperation from the farmers in general, does not meet with altogether smooth sailing. Assembling in Syracuse last week, the New York State Federation of Agriculture, representing 250,000 farmers, passed resolutions demanding repeal of the laws establishing the State Farms and Markets Council and the State Food Commission, opposing all price-fixing laws and plans to conscript farm labor, urging that milk consumption be encouraged, not discouraged, and asking that the members of the Federal Food Commission be men of actual farm experience. Political complications are involved in the New York situation, and it is not to be assumed that the farmers of this State are in any degree unwilling to do their full share in producing the food so imperatively needed. It is natural that difficulties should arise in carrying out the tremendous task of organization that we have in hand, and protests such as these will call attention to conditions requiring remedy. None the less the vital work of agricultural mobilization goes steadily forward.

The Government has begun its campaign this year much earlier than last, and is much more definite. Last year Secretary Houston called together on April 9 a body of agricultural leaders at St. Louis. This year he issued his programme on February 18. Last year but four general directions were given—that each community should produce its own food as far as possible; that non-perishable staples should be increased beyond usual local limits; that perishables should be cultivated only in so far as a market was assured; and that special attention should be given to spring wheat, rye, beans, rice, and sugar beets and cane. This year the Agricultural Department gives explicit directions as to the acreage of wheat, rye, oats, and beans, definitely indicates its hopes as to corn, cotton, and pork production, and offers advice as to forage crops, dairy products, potatoes, rice, and so on.

The emphasis of Secretary Houston's programme is laid on wheat, cotton, corn, and hogs, the last two being dependent on each other. Early last fall the Government instructed the farmers that it wished at least 44,634,000 acres of winter wheat and 5,000,000 of winter rye sown. According to President Wilson's recent message to the Farm Conference in Illinois, only 42,170,000 acres of wheat were sown, though this exceeded by 1,000,000 acres the record. Much has been winter-killed. The Agricultural Department therefore asks the farmers to plant no less than 21,140,000 acres of spring wheat, which would be 3,200,000 acres more than were planted in 1916, and would give us a total of about 63,000,000. This would mean an unprecedented effort, and with fair luck would assure a billion bushels. A remarkable feature of the Government's requests is for the sowing of much spring wheat in States that have practically confined themselves to winter wheat—100,000 acres in Illinois, and 50,000 each in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. Southern planters are requested to grow "as much cotton as can be well cultivated and harvested." This means that they should put in at least the 34,900,000 acres of 1916, which was considerably less than the high acreages of 1913 and 1914. The Government also cautions the South against a relaxation of its efforts to develop diversified farming. As for corn, another bumper crop will be required if the Department's programme for increasing the number of swine to more than 82,000,000 is carried out. Recently we were agreeably surprised to learn that the estimates of 61,000,000 hogs in the country had been revised to show 71,375,000; but to fatten 11,000,000 additional swine will require rather more than the 105,000,000 acres of corn the nation averaged from 1910 to 1916. It need not reach the 120,000,000 acres of last year, and Secretary Houston suggests a slight reduction of both corn and oats acreage in favor of spring wheat.

We must remember that if on every Illinois farm a hitherto unused acre should be planted, it would mean 250,000 acres; that not merely in the open West, but in crowded Massachusetts and New York, the waste acreage has been enormous; that the South not only neglects great areas of productive land, but has other areas where three crops instead of one might be grown. The new draft will not take place till spring seeding is over; and exemption boards are instructed to list farm labor as skilled. Women will be called into the fields; city labor can be utilized; and the army of harvesters will again move north with the ripening wheat. A Topeka correspondent writes that thousands of tractors will be delivered in the Middle West this spring "to minimize the need of men." Mr. Hoover has helped about the conservation of seed, and the Government will provide credit and fertilizers where necessary. The "Farmers' Week" conference just held at Ithaca will have been duplicated all over the Union before the crop-year fairly begins. Finally, we may take the earnestness of the farmer for granted. With corn worth $1.30 and wheat $2 a bushel on the farm in December, he will have an interest in working early and late to grow every bushel possible; and were this not so, he would be as ready for patriotic effort as any one.

Those who represent the farmer as exacting a special price for his assistance in the war are serving demagogic purposes. Senator Gore wished to amend the new Food bill to guarantee the farmer $2.50 a bushel for wheat, Senator Thompson to guarantee him $2.65, and Senator McCumber $2.75. The action of the President in fixing the present year's price at $2.20, the same figure that Mr. Hoover established for the 1917 crop, is all that could reasonably be expected, and it puts an end promptly to all uncertainty regarding one important element in the food problem of the present year. Even this figure represents an advance of twenty cents on the price that had previously been determined on for 1918. The $2.20 which Mr. Hoover fixed for 1917 was partly determined by the $2 basis already decided on for the 1918 crop—it had to be made sure that farmers would not hoard wheat for the 1918 price. The $2 rate was characterized by agricultural college experts as liberal. To offer $2.50 or more for this year's crop would be unnecessary to stimulate production, and would wrong the consumer both here and abroad. The farmer wishes an assured market, not an excessive price. Whether the war continues long or not, the world's demand for food will long remain keen. The farmer wants assurance that his crop will be moved, and the Government is duly giving the crops a prominent place in priority orders. The farmer wishes protection against profiteering dealers, and in a score of ways, from the licensing system which controls every little distributer to the prosecution of the packers, the Government is giving it to him. The Government is doing its part and the farmer will do his. During the first year of the war, no branch of the Government has done better on the whole than the Department of Agriculture. The farmers are coöperating with patriotism and intelligence.

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Academic Poltroonery

IN his letter to Provost Smith, declining the honorary degree voted him by the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Joseph Pennell writes finis to another chapter in the lengthening history of American academic intolerance and cowardice. In recognition of the achievements of this world-renowned etcher, the trustees of the University on April 2, 1917, voted to confer on him the degree of doctor of letters, a graceful acknowledgment that did honor alike to the man and to the University. In June Mr. Pennell was absent in France at the invitation of the Government of that country, so the conferring of the degree had to be postponed till the University Convocation on Washington's Birthday just past. Meanwhile, Mr. Pennell, who had been performing important service for our Government, was attacked by the tongue of irresponsible tattlers for alleged anti-British remarks made at his club. After the manner of rumor, the scandal grew till the town was agog. Then the trustees took alarm; the University must not be compromised. Accordingly, a few days since, the Provost conferred with Mr. Pennell, and, according to the public statement of the latter, informed him that while the trustees sympathized with him, and still wished to confer the degree, they thought it wise to wait till June, when the criticism would have been forgotten. The Provost therefore suggested that Mr. Pennell be "out of town" on Washington's Birthday.

Thus do the trustees defend a distinguished man attacked by idle gossip, and thus does the Provost interpret his duty as head of a great University, fearing to face so much as a breeze of local prejudice. Is it to leaders such as these that American youth must look for guidance as we go forward in these days that try men's souls? Well deserved are Mr. Pennell's stinging words: "I owe nothing to the University of Pennsylvania, and I refuse now, or at any other time, to accept anything from an institution so lacking in courage and justice"—words that will burn into the soul of that great body of Pennsylvania men throughout the country who care more for upstanding courage and fidelity to truth than for the approval of Philadelphia society.

Unfortunately, by this latest exemplification of their fibre, the ruling faction of the trustees of this great institution will not surprise any one acquainted with their recent history. Such a person will perhaps recall their acceptance, a generation ago, of what was in those days a princely gift, to establish a school in which students should be taught, among other things, the advantages of a protective tariff. His memory will travel over the intervening years, marked by a series of lamentable incidents, of which the Nearing dismissal became perhaps most notorious, down to June, 1917. At that time, taking advantage of the University's age-retirement rules, the same group somewhat ostentatiously got rid of America's youngest-minded economist, who had served Pennsylvania with distinction for a third of a century, but who had refused to be held wholly by their intellectual leading-strings. It is a record to blush for, despite the devoted service that has been rendered under these difficult conditions by dozens of distinguished scholars and friends of the University. As things stand, there seems little hope for improvement except in the gradual replacement of many of the present trustees by men of courage and vision. To one who knows the difficulties, it will appear a task worthy the fighting traditions of the Quaker University.

The issue at Pennsylvania links itself closely with that of academic freedom discussed in these columns two weeks ago. The same timorousness that fears to stand by Mr. Joseph Pennell in the face of a trifling social storm, lest criticism be drawn upon the University, fears likewise to give professors real freedom, lest some of their utterances jeopardize accepted ideas and temporarily alienate popular support. It is not a mere question of machinery, though we have clearly outgrown our old system of university government by boards of business men and lawyers chosen by coöptation, impinging on the university through elaborate administrative machinery, from president down to door-boy. Our State universities, with their elected boards of regents, are no better off; on the contrary, elected officials are notoriously sensitive to shifting currents of public feeling. So far as machinery goes, progress lies in the direction of increased faculty responsibility and control. Such growing faculty control should mean, not withdrawal from present-day affairs, but the shaping of policies more largely by men whose training and conditions of work encourage them to accept objective truth as the test of success. So much, at least, a betterment of university machinery might accomplish.

But the real issue goes far deeper. It is a question of the spirit—this that our universities face to-day. Do they, or do they not, dare front the world, the flesh, and the devil, and defy them at need? That is the question that trustees, faculties, alumni, and students alike must meet as they look towards the new day. On their answer hangs the influence of our universities in a democratic world. The plain man loves honesty and fearlessness. Calculating wisdom he often fails to understand—nay, he distrusts it, frequently suspecting motives that do not exist. He must be induced to respect and trust university experts; he will do so only if they are clearly and openly unafraid of anything but falsehood. The universities must do their work in the world as it is; but far from this meaning that the private foundations must curry favor with rich and powerful donors and that State institutions must bow before the gusts of popular passion, it means that trustees and faculties alike must insist boldly and publicly on the sole duty of the university to find the truth and speak the truth, whether the truth for the moment be popular or not.

It is no light experiment upon which we are at last entering, that of actual self-government by the common man. He needs, and will gratefully accept, disinterested and informed leadership, but he will not accept it from boot-lickers and trimmers and cowards. He will not accept it from the hirelings of wealth on the one hand, or from the panders to popular prejudice and passion on the other. Let our universities remember, then, that they hold in their hands the priceless treasure of the future, and that only a sublime courage on their part can keep unbroken the golden bowl wherein it is contained. On the part of most of the men in them such courage is not wanting, but as we see some trustees recklessly squandering the resources of future power that lie latent in the universities, by pitiful efforts to keep their teaching safe and sane, and to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, as we see some professors bartering their future influence in return for a temporary popularity or for peace with their trustees—as we see these things, we sometimes wonder whether the greatest curse of our universities is not just plain cowardice, their greatest need plain courage. God give us men!

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Russian Democracy and the Allies

By MANYA GORDON STRUNSKY

RUSSIA, from the very beginning of the conflict in Europe, has been the erratic member of the Entente family. A stupidly vicious autocracy whose methods always found sympathy, and even assistance, in a reactionary Prussia, suddenly allies herself with the cause of democracy and against Prussia, and enters the war with an energy and enthusiasm equal to her associates.

How startling, in one respect, was this change will appear from one fairly familiar incident of the recent history of Russia. During the terrorist campaign of 1904, von Plehve, then Minister of the Interior, threatened the revolutionary leaders with the Kaiser. Addressing himself to Gregory Gershuni, leader of the terrorists, von Plehve informed him that if the revolutionists did not abandon their activities, he would, in the event of the failure of the Russian army to suppress the revolution, make use of the German army. This may appear very singular to Americans, but it did not come at all as a surprise to enlightened Russians. It was merely another instance of the close affiliation between the reactionary clique in their own Government and the Prussian monarchy. The Russian people have always felt and hated the influence of those Germans who were in authority in Russia and who were among the Czar's ablest agents in the relentless effort to crush the aspirations of the people. All this was well known to Nicholas II and his court. The Government decided to turn it to account in a moment of crisis. Russia was on the verge of another revolution in 1914. There were strikes in nearly all the industrial centres. Barricades were being erected by the workers in Petrograd. The moment was portentous. Because of the complications and the still vivid resentments following upon the Balkan wars, the autocracy could not expect any assistance from the Kaiser. But a foreign war would be a diversion. Russia's internal condition, the very thing upon which the Central Powers counted to keep Russia out of the war, hastened her participation. The Russian autocracy did the next best thing after calling in the Kaiser. It utilized the love that her people bear for democracy and the hatred that they bore for the Kaiser and his militarism. Russia took the field against the Central Powers and so averted the revolution by rallying to the cause all the opposition elements in her empire.

Only those who have some knowledge of the history of the struggle for freedom in Russia from its very inception will be in a position to understand the fascination that a war for universal democracy had for thinking Russia, which was fired by the opportunity. The possibility of crushing absolutism in Central Europe was so worth while that revolutionists postponed their national aspirations indefinitely and hastened to the support of the Government. Democracy was so alluring a vision to the revolutionists that they were willing to fight for it even under the leadership of an autocracy which they despised. The labor leaders called off the strikes which were paralyzing the country, the barricades disappeared, and men plunged into the fray with the ardor of true apostles of freedom. They entered upon a war to a finish. They were ready to endure the unnecessary hardships which an inefficient Government thrust upon them. When the venal and traitorous Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, failed to supply them with arms and munitions, they fought as best they could.

But when revolutionary Russia discovered that the Czar was again being played upon by his reactionary and pro-German associates, that this intriguing and corrupt clique was actually contemplating a separate peace with the Central Powers, it removed the autocracy. The Russian people rejoiced over the fall of the Romanovs and all that their rule stood for, but it was also happy in the hope that liberated Russia would hasten the subjugation of militaristic imperialism in Europe. The outstanding fact is that Russia eradicated the autocracy in order to participate more efficiently in the war for universal democracy.

Russians are a pacific people, but given an ideal they will fight. And Russia would still be fighting on the side of the Entente had it not discovered that the Allies' conception of democracy was irreconcilable with the ideals of free Russia. The famous secret treaties created the chasm. As long as the autocracy lasted and its machinations were concealed from the people, liberal Russia pinned its faith to the integrity of the democratic declarations of the Allies. It trusted the Allies infinitely more than its own Government, and even looked to them to restrain the militaristic ambitions of its own ruling classes. Not the lack of men, nor yet the urgency of national reconstruction, caused free Russia's change of feeling towards the war, but the secret treaties. What the Romanov tricks failed to accomplish, secret diplomacy achieved.

The treaties which Trotzky published were known in substance to liberated Russia soon after the revolution. The Provisional Government did not make them public because it hoped to secure a restatement of terms and so to destroy their validity. That such restatement was essential, Kerensky and his associates well recognized; as indeed must have been plain to any one who understood the spirit that has animated Russia's half-century of struggle for freedom. Between that spirit and the conception of democracy revealed in the secret treaties there was a tragic cleft. It was the difference between a democracy which gave itself heart and soul to faith in the masses and a democracy—with reservations.

The revolutionary movement in Russia fifty years ago was not launched by the direct victims of oppression. It was started by men and women who hailed from the ranks of the aristocracy. These young people rebelled against their idle and safeguarded lives. From the emptiness and "depravity" of the ruling classes they turned to the peasant masses which toiled for the maintenance of these unworthy idlers. In the suffering people they discovered the necessary virtues for the regeneration of the national life. All that was needed, they reasoned, was education to make the peasants conscious of their power. That done, the masses would abolish the conditions which underlay their suffering and so save Russia. In some such manner of exalted faith did the first Russian radicals reason.

The last atom of hope they might have had in the Government was destroyed when the authorities declared their educational labors among the peasantry a crime and closed the schools which were being established everywhere as

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part of the missionary movement. This action on the part of the autocracy sealed the final bond between the people and these young idealists. Having been forced by the Government into a position where they were compelled to choose between returning to their previous mode of life or continuing their work among the people and being branded as public enemies, they chose the latter. And now began the movement "To the people."

Men and women cut themselves off from parents, wives, husbands, children, and disappeared among the people. It was at first a small and very humble army made indestructible by a vision of a world in which the Russian people would be given freedom to utter the good that was in them and establish a free democracy. It must be understood that these missionaries did not appear before the masses as uplifters, but as contrite prodigals. They came more to learn than to teach. The peasant, in their opinion, had no failing that was not the result of his oppression and his misery, whereas the one merit that they of the higher world could claim and that was of importance was education. This they would now share with the peasant, and so foster the good and beauty that was in him. In time the infinite goodness that is in man would overshadow the powers of oppression, and a new world order would be built.

These were, in brief, the ideals of Catherine Breshkovsky, of Nicholas Tchaykovsky, of Peter Kropotkin, and a host of others who were the first to raise the cry, "To the people." For these convictions they paid with prison, exile, and death on the scaffold. In spite of the familiar iniquities of the Russian autocracy, the classic horrors of Siberia, the knout, and the drum-head court-martial, do people often stop to think of the actual numbers of those who have suffered for Russian freedom? Between 1867 and 1879 more than 100,000 political offenders were sent off to Siberia. This does not take account of executions, imprisonments, or the milder punishment of exile within European Russia. In 1905 the first Duma demanded amnesty for 75,000 political prisoners. When the reaction set in the following year, the drum-head executions began. In the four years from 1906 to 1909 3,770 men and women were put to death. After the revolution of last March, Siberia sent back to Russia no less than 70,000 political prisoners.

Seventy thousand men and women united by one ideal, their faith in the people—in democracy! Those who still subscribe to the old formula that the inconstant Russians are one thing to-day and another to-morrow might turn to the history of their own countries for a parallel to the single-mindedness and devotion of the Russian champions of liberty since 1867.

It has been with the Russian revolutionists as with all the persecuted. The host of martyrs has driven deeper into the Russian soul the original faith in the people. We may say that the Russian revolutionists have made a fetish of the people, of the belief that in the people are infinite goodness and capacity. But the belief is there and must be reckoned with. What Western civilization utters with some reserve, "The cure for democracy is more democracy," the Russian accepts as an elementary truth.

Upon this state of mind in Russia there came the revelation of the secret treaties. The high ideals for which the Allies entered the war and which had captivated the Russian revolutionists to the point of reconciling them for the time being to the autocracy, shrivelled up. Let us take these treaties at their best. Let us say that the annexations and parcellings in them were intended primarily for the benefit of the peoples so bandied about. Yet the business would still be, not democracy, but what I feel tempted to describe as "philanthropy"; not justice, but benevolence. The peoples were not given liberty to do, but something was done to and for the peoples. It showed mistrust in the masses, and so ran counter to Russian ideals.

These differences between Russian democracy and Allied democracy Kerensky endeavored to adjust when he asked for a restatement of terms. He knew that liberated Russia would fight for the eradication of militaristic imperialism in Europe, that she would fight for the liberation and self-determination of the small nationalities—in short, for all that the Entente's *public* declarations implied. But Russia would not fight for the sham democracy of the secret treaties. In asking for a restatement of terms, Kerensky was asking for an ideal for Russia to die for. That Kerensky, whom Mr. Root considers "a man of conviction, of intense purpose, of tremendous personality," failed to secure a reconsideration of war aims from the Allies only makes more apparent the gulf that separated them from the Russian ideal.

It may be that the attitude assumed by free Russia appeared pretentious, even ridiculous. A recently created democracy, a new-born nation which has not as yet had the opportunity to put her own house in order, develops a great concern for the liberties of other nations, and insists that the statesmen of the Allies shall live up to their public declarations. But Russia in this respect was neither ignorant nor arrogant. She acted from necessity and upon knowledge. Since the beginnings of the revolutionary movement, Russia has studied her own relationship to western Europe, whereas the Entente nations know little of the psychology and history of free Russia. Intellectual Russians have always shown a keen interest in the affairs of the west European states. Revolutionists were compelled to spend months and years in exile abroad. During these enforced journeys they did not remain idle. They were thinking of their own people and how to make these absences from Russia profitable to their country. They studied forms of government and social conditions in the various countries. They knew very well the history of the French Revolution, the story of the problems raised for republican France by the reactionary nations with which she was surrounded. From this study emerged the basic principle that *the preservation of Russia's newly acquired freedom depended upon the establishment of democratic principles in Europe.*

The Provisional Government was aware of this. It also knew how important it was for any Russian Government to continue in friendly relations with the Allies. Kerensky made superhuman efforts to secure the good will of the Entente. It is more than probable that the offensive which he led in person last July was only another desperate attempt to convince the Allies that the army of free Russia was willing to continue the conflict if by a restatement of terms the Allies would furnish Russia with an ideal to fight for.

The rockbound opposition which all his efforts encountered among the Allied nations can in large measure be ascribed to the two conceptions of democracy I have dealt with. It is true that the Allied nations rejoiced at the overthrow of Czarism in Russia. But they scarcely counted upon a republican form of government for the Slavs. What they had in mind was a constitutional monarchy of some sort, one hating the Central Powers and in complete accord with their

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own political aspirations. They were happy at the disappearance of Nicholas II because he was about to conclude a separate peace with the enemy. Now that this danger was over, they wanted a Russian *army*. As to the democratic ideals of the Russian people, they cared very little.

It is not surprising that the Entente, and Great Britain in particular, should have taken that attitude towards the young democracy. With no knowledge of the real psychology of revolutionary Russia as it shaped itself during the long and weary years of conflict for liberty, and not well informed even about the facts of that conflict, the Allies looked upon the Russian revolutionists as—well, visionaries. Here were some muddle-headed people who actually desired to pin down a statesman to his public declarations and who refused to stand by the written agreements of their own Government when such documents were not in accord with what they had believed them to be or what they thought was right. In order to simplify the problem, the Allies persuaded themselves that these Utopians could not be numerous in Russia. The Allies thought of Russia as it was fifty years and more ago under Alexander II, the liberal Czar, before the real beginning of the revolutionary movement, when a constitutional monarchy might have satisfied the aspirations of the Russian people. To reason thus was to ignore the vast spiritual distances which the Russians have travelled since the time of Alexander II, all the way from a belief in benevolent monarchs to a belief—unreserved, complete, fanatical, perhaps—in the masses.

These, then, are the people whom Lloyd George counsels us to leave to their own fate. He finds no inconsistency between his cry for democracy and his attitude towards this infant democracy. The Allies do not yet appear awed by the fact that it is their criminal stupidity that has handed over Russia to the Germans and German ruthlessness. Will the Germans crush New Russia? Will the Allies succeed in winning the Russians to their own conception of democracy? Judging by the past, neither is possible. What is likely is that Russia will continue to suffer and stand by her ideal—faith in the infinite goodness and safety of the common people—until her gospel shall have become universal.

The New Democracy

By RICHARD ROBERTS

THE tragedy of revolution—contrary to the view of the orthodox historical textbooks—is that it has never gone quite far enough. The records of revolution are filled chiefly with its negative and destructive performances simply because its impulse, not having been sustained by an adequate social vision, has run out before it could swing on to the business of constructive achievement. Yet the possibilities of the vision were present all the time. The mainspring of revolution is the sense of disinheritance, rendered intolerable by injustice and exploitation; but the sense of disinheritance properly understood is the negative side of a demand, organic to human nature, for the broadening of the social basis. The great historical rebels have invariably been men of wider social vision than their more respectable contemporaries; and the thing that became articulate in them was the craving of a class for its appointed share in the common human inheritance of larger light and fuller life. Yet because this social demand was not understood in all its implications and was not made explicit in a policy, it was assumed that the one thing needful was to break down the disabling barrier of privilege. That done, the rest would follow: the Golden Age would at once materialize. But it never did so. It was not perceived that the logic of revolution required and pointed to a sequel of positive and creative social action.

This was essentially Lamennais's plea in 1831. A successful revolution, he told his fellow-countrymen, is only the beginning of things. You have cleared the ground; now upon this cleared ground you have to raise the fabric of a living society. France itself did indeed provide the signal instance of the danger of an incomplete revolution. The political equality which was intended to give a fair field to every man, just because it stopped at that point, in effect opened the door to the strong man. The strong man came presently in the person of Napoleon; and with Napoleon the Empire and all that that episode cost France and Europe in blood and treasure. The same kind of miscarriage has befallen the wider historical development of the French Revolution. The abolition of political privilege and the institution of democratic equality has during the nineteenth century made possible the growth of a new type of privilege and a new manner of disinheritance. That Jack's note is as good as his master's has not always saved Jack from an exploitation as real and as burdensome as the feudalism under which his fathers groaned. It is characteristic of Lamennais's insight that he perceived that political equality without safeguards against economic exploitation would prove a vain thing. Writing to the workingmen of Paris in 1847, he said that, with them, he "should demand that in accordance with justice and reason . . . the question should be seriously gone into, how it is possible, in the distribution of the fruits of labor, to do away with the revolting anomalies which crush under their weight the most numerous portion of the human family." Emile Faguet justly observes that Lamennais saw that the coming enemy was "le pouvoir d'argent," and that he endeavored to choke it before it could realize itself. Unhappily his reach exceeded his grasp.

Professor Hobhouse pertinently points out that democracy is "at best an instrument with which men who hold by the ideal of social justice and human progress can work. But when these ideals grow cold, it may, like other instruments, be turned to base uses." And Lord Morley in a similar strain asks us what we mean by democracy, whether "a doctrine or a force, constitutional parchment or a glorious evangel, perfected machinery for the wire-puller, the party tactician, the spoilsman, or the boss, or the stern and high ideals of a Mazzini or a Tolstoy." In point of fact, it may be reasonably held that worse has befallen it than the perversion that Lord Morley suggests. There is so much tendency at the moment to think of democracy as an end that it cannot be ill for us to be reminded how frequently in practice it has become the tool of gangs of strong men seeking selfish ends, and how Lincoln's famous formula has been buried beneath the practice of government by a well-to-do oligarchy in the interests of the privileged classes.

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The method in the madness of the Bolsheviki is that they are minded to prevent the substitution of a plutocracy for an aristocracy and have therefore followed up the destruction of political privilege by the summary abolition of economic advantage. For they know that historically it is the fact, whether it is always bound to be so or not (as the English advocates of "national guilds" insist), that political power goes with economic power.

Mr. Albert Jay Nock has done well to remind us (in the *Evening Post* of January 30, 1918) that there are important differences between the Anglo-American and the European conceptions of democracy, though the main difference is not quite so clear-cut as he suggests. French and American democratic ideas have undoubtedly been more egalitarian than those of Great Britain. The Briton has cared less for political equality than for what he calls freedom, the right of self-determination, the opportunity to live out his life in his own way. He has been less doctrinaire than his French neighbor and has not been troubled by the logical anomaly of an aristocracy so long as the aristocracy left him reasonable elbow-room. The time came when the aristocracy was found to be obstructive and its pretensions had to be suitably abridged. This was done by the abolition of the veto of the House of Lords, and it is an interesting question whether that episode did not fitly close the long and not inglorious innings of British liberalism, and whether the further development of the Liberal tradition does not now pass into the hands of the new Labor party. What at least seems clear is that the British democracy is less concerned to-day with the aristocrat than it is with the profiteer—though the actual transition of interest is not so great as it looks on paper, for the simple reason that the wall of partition between the aristocracy and the plutocracy has long been in process of dilapidation and disappearance. In any case, it seems likely that the democratic movement in England will possess an economic outlook no less definite than that which Mr. Nock rightly ascribes to its Continental counterparts, and it is probable that it has already outstripped them in the clarity and definition of its aims.

The recent Report on Reconstruction prepared by a subcommittee of the British Labor Party is the most comprehensive scheme of economic change yet formulated by a responsible political party; and its significance is accentuated by the international solidarity of labor indicated by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference just closed in London and by the high probability that before many years, perhaps before many months, are passed, the party will be in a position to translate its policies into constitutional fact. It sets out its programme under four heads: (1) The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum; (2) The Democratic Control of Industry; (3) Revolution in National Finance; (4) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good. It is beyond our present purpose to examine this scheme in detail, but its sweep may be measured by its demand for the immediate nationalization of land, railways, mines, the production of electrical power, and insurance. While for the moment at least it does not propose the nationalization of all industries, it safeguards the worker against the possibility of exploitation by private capital, by vesting the purchase and distribution of raw material in the state, which is therefore able to impose its own terms upon the manufacturer. This measure, joined with the proposal to impose stiff limitations on profit and with the demand that the worker shall share with the employer the control of the industry, seems to point to the ultimate organization of national industry on the basis of "national guilds," a plan which has been ably advocated in England for some years by a group of conspicuously able thinkers as the *via media* between the wasteful individualism of the past and the dangerous centralization implied in Marxian socialism.

Of even greater significance than the practical details of the programme is its spirit. In the statement concerning the future disposition of the surplus wealth which has hitherto gone into the pockets of those already rich, the report says:

> It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the sick and infirm of all kinds (including that for maternity and infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the education alike of children, of adolescents, and of adults, in which the Labor party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature, and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production. It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the common good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor party, as the party of the producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do, essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired, of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

This suggests that we are face to face with a new type of political philosophy, a type which rests upon a definite view of the ends of life and a vision of life as a whole. Hitherto the political philosopher has apparently gone on the assumption that his problem was fully stated in terms of an abstract individual over against an abstract state, just as the economist has also in times past proceeded on the view that a man could be treated as an economic unit and his labor as a measurable marketable commodity separate from his personality. Both sciences alike largely subordinated man to the system, either to the political organization or to the machinery for the production of wealth. But to-day we are witnessing the emergence of a full-blooded humanism into political theory and practice. Beneath this report, which (whether its plans are all finally endorsed by the party or not) is in its spirit and hope an embodiment of the idealism of the British labor movement, there lies a clear sense that every man has and is an end in himself, and that he can achieve that end only in a social setting which he must share in creating. Its view is that man and the community achieve their distinctive ends in each other. The great soul and the great society will arrive together. The historical significance of this document appears to be that it presages a new stage in the development of the democratic ideal. Perhaps it is the beginning of the long-delayed economic sequel of the achievement of the French Revolution, in which case it may very well turn out to be the Magna Charta of the new democracy.

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Copper Camp Patriotism: An Interpretation

By ROBERT BRUERE

ANY one who will take the pains to look beneath the surface of the disgraceful events that dislocated copper porduction in Arizona last summer—events not unlike those which are still keeping the lumber industry of the Northwest in confusion—will see that the fundamental cause of the strikes and their attendant losses was the breakdown of the authority of both State and Federal Government. When the President's Mediation Commission visited Arizona, with instructions to restore the output of copper to its maximum, the following of the I. W. W. was not a serious factor there. Since the Commission left Arizona, however, reports have reached me from independent and trustworthy sources that the membership of the I. W. W. is rapidly growing. The basic contention of the I. W. W. leaders, the major argument upon which their revolutionary propaganda rests, is that the modern "capitalistic State" is powerless to safeguard the interests of the workers, and that their only hope of escape from the toil of "wage slavery" is the conquest of the basic industries, and the creation of a new "industrial State" responsible to the democratic representatives of nationalized and internationalized industries owned and operated by the workers themselves. In other words, their dream is essentially the same as that which inspires the present revolutionary movement in Russia.

To most of us who believe in the fundamentally democratic quality of our American Constitution, and who look for the ultimate democratization of industry through slow evolution from precedent to precedent under law, there is, at first blush, something mad, something bordering upon the treasonable in this I. W. W. indictment of the State of our faith. Our first impulse is to turn upon these men who mutter rebellion and rend them limb from limb as though they were defilers of our holy of holies. However we deprecate the indiscretion of the copper companies in resorting to violence, we cherish a certain inward sympathy for them because at bottom, we feel, they were defending the State, the body of laws, of customs, of ideals of property and social relations, in which our own security is rooted.

When, however, we look more closely at the things which the copper companies did, we are startled to find their policy inspired by the same distrust of the State, of the constituted authorities of Arizona and the Federal Government, for which they themselves condemned the I. W. W. as an "outlaw" organization. The strike in Bisbee took effect on the 27th of June. At the instance of Governor Campbell, the Federal authorities sent to Bisbee an officer of the United States army who notified the Sheriff that in case of need he could bring in troops at a moment's notice. Though there was no violence among the strikers in Bisbee, the companies, in league with the Sheriff, deported some twelve hundred men in defiance of due process of law. Their representatives openly asserted that in the execution of their plans they had thus ignored the State and Federal authorities because they could not trust those authorities to take the action which, in their private judgment, the situation demanded.

In face of this open contempt of the State, the President's Mediation Commission confessed the helplessness of the Federal Government. They discovered that there was no Federal statute under which the authors of these deportations from Arizona to New Mexico could be punished. For the protection of men violently hustled from one State to another the Federal Government, as it appears from this incident, is without power.

Such power as existed the Constitution and statutes of Arizona vested in the Governor and the Attorney-General of the State; but the companies contemptuously flouted these constituted guardians of the public interest. After the deportations the companies set up an extra-legal court of their own, before which all persons desiring to live and do business in Bisbee and not rated as "loyal" were forced to appear. Many such persons, according to their own testimony, were asked whether they had participated in the strike, whether they sympathized with the strikers as against the companies, whether they were ready to go back to work at such places and on such terms as the powers behind the "kangaroo court" might designate. Failing a satisfactory answer, they were ordered to move on, were forcibly deported, or were imprisoned and sent out in the convict road-repair gang.

When the victims of this lawlessness appealed for protection to the Governor of Arizona, he professed helplessness on the ground that the State troops had been taken over by the Federal authorities, and shifted responsibility to the State's Attorney-General. In a telegram of August 9 addressed to the Governor that official reported as follows:

> After calm discussion and an impartial presentation of the serious phase of the situation as to continued unlawful deportations by Bisbee's controlling committee, I was courteously informed by committee in presence of Sheriff that determination is fixed that daily practice of committee hearings and deportations will continue regardless of law. Therefore, I officially report that only armed force of State under Governor's constitutional and statutory powers or Federal force through Governor's request under United States Constitution will overcome these unlawful deportations as well as denials of entrance into Bisbee as now conducted. I cite paragraph thirty-nine fifty-five, Revised Statutes Arizona, and section four, article four, United States Constitution.

Had the wage-workers been guilty of such open defiance of law, there seems every reason to believe that Governor Campbell would have found it possible to get troops into Bisbee. At least, an insignificant demonstration on the part of certain strikers in Globe, Arizona, had demonstrated his ability to get troops when he wanted them. But under our Federal Constitution, the United States Government may not send troops into a State without the explicit request of the Governor, and in the face of the defiant contempt of the self-constituted authorities of Bisbee, the Governor stood paralyzed and failed to act. After seven months, the men who were lawlessly deported from their homes in Bisbee are still scattered to the four winds and are without redress. Is it surprising that the victims of such lawlessness should depair of the ability, not to say the willingness, of our State to render even-handed justice?

We shall be deceiving ourselves if we proceed on the assumption that such explosions of anarchy as that at Bisbee are due to the malice of individual men, and that our responsibility as a people will be adequately met when the wrongdoers have been exposed, indicted, and thrown into jail. The ultimate responsibility rests, not upon individuals, but squarely upon us as a self-governing democratic people. For we have not worked out a national policy adapted to the conditions of the present time as regards either of the two

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fundamental elements of national wealth and well-being—natural resources and labor. On these two is built the whole superstructure of economic and financial relations. Our traditional policy regarding both was developed at a time when our natural resources were "unlimited," when ownership was widely distributed in small units, when population was sparse, and when we had scarcely the beginnings of a permanent laboring class. Policies adapted to such conditions may require material modification in order to work smoothly under the circumstances of to-day. It may be conceivable, for example, that the principles on which we are coming to administer our public utilities should be applied, in greater or less degree, to our basic raw materials such as copper, whose ownership and production must be handled on a large scale.

It is not intended to advocate this solution, but to indicate the imperative necessity of working out some policy adapted to present needs, a policy sound in principle and capable of smooth working under the stress and strain of modern industrial conditions. As it is, it is easy to see how existing difficulties have arisen. The copper mines have hitherto been held purely in accordance with the traditional law of private property, instead of being regarded as in any way affected with a public interest. And since the State has thus assumed no special responsibility, it is only natural that in times of industrial disturbance the owners should take the steps they consider necessary to protect their holdings.

At the same time we have left our policy affecting the public relationships of wage-workers too nearly what it was in the days of petty industry. We do indeed modify the law, but legislative reform invariably lags far behind the change of economic conditions. And even the administration and interpretation of the existing law is often in a state of utter confusion and uncertainty. At times of industrial dispute there is often no way for the wage-workers to know what the law is or to learn to whom they may turn for redress of grievances real or imaginary. The President's Mediation Commission, for example, reported that the strikes in the copper camps of Arizona were directly due

> to underlying labor conditions of the mining industry of the State which were devoid of safeguards against strikes, and, in fact, provocative of them. To correct these evil conditions the Commission set up an administrative machinery for the adjustment of industrial disputes based upon the principle of collective bargaining, under which the right of the men to organize was made effective by providing administrative enforcement for the prohibition against discrimination because of union affiliations.

But while the Commission was thus in effect compelling certain of the copper companies to deal with their employees collectively by guaranteeing the men the right to unionize, the United States Supreme Court handed down an opinion in which it enjoined labor leaders from so much as attempting to organize the workers in plants where the individual contract was in force; and the United States Department of Justice was jailing hundreds of men for concerted action designed to improve the conditions of their employment. Here were three branches of the Federal Government pursuing three radically divergent and hopelessly conflicting policies towards the wage-workers at the very moment when the nation was making a patriotic appeal to the workers to get out a maximum production of copper. The United States Department of Justice was arresting them, the President's Mediation Commission was telling them that they must organize into unions, and the United States Supreme Court was announcing that if they attempted to organize under certain conditions they would be guilty of contempt of court. And yet we charge them with treason when they despair of the ability of our Government to protect them and announce their determination to set up a new industrial State of their own. Is it not evident that an essential condition of faith in the justice of our Government and whole-hearted devotion to it on the part of men dependent for their livelihood on their labor is the removal of such glaring contradictions as these and the development of a straightforward, consistent policy under which laboring men, like owners of capital, will clearly understand their rights and duties as prescribed by the law, and will see both rights and duties impartially enforced? It is easy to blame individual mine owners or labor leaders for such industrial and social disasters as that described in these articles, but such a placing of blame will not solve our problem. Until we adopt and enforce an intelligent policy with respect to our basic natural resources and the government of industrial relationships, the State of our allegiance will be held in increasing distrust and contempt by property owners and propertyless men alike.

Correspondence

The Battle of Prague

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Two entertainingly disparate references to "The Battle of Prague," Kotzwara's once famous programme piece, should stimulate both the antiquary and the student of literary coincidence. The Grangerford "young ladies" in "Huck Finn" and Miss Tabitha Tag-rag in Samuel Warren's "Ten Thousand a-Year" are the executants, on pianos surely as widely separated by musical and romantic tradition as by physical distance. STANLEY KIDDER WILSON

Swarthmore, Pa., February 8

History for the Young

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In an "American History," Second Book, written by Arthur C. Perry, jr., Ph.D., District Superintendent of Schools, New York city, and published by the American Book Company, occurs this statement:

> There were many people even in the North who did not believe in the [Civil] war. They really sympathized with the South and rejoiced when the Federal arms met reverses. These people were given the name of Copperheads because many of them wore as a badge the head of the Goddess of Liberty, cut out of an old-fashioned copper cent.

Such a perversion of notorious facts, with the implication that the Copperheads wore a badge of loyalty made of a Federal coin, requires proof. A questioning child, referred to the usual explanations of terms to be found in such available authorities as Webster's "International," the "Century," the "International Encyclopedia," and the "New English Dictionary," will find nothing to suggest, much less substantiate, this origin of Copperhead. Will Mr. Perry, or any one else who believes his statement, kindly print his proof?

W. P. REEVES

Gambier, O., February 2

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BOOKS

Henry James in the Ivory Tower

The Middle Years. By Henry James. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25 net.

The Sense of the Past. By Henry James. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50 net.

The Ivory Tower. By Henry James. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50 net.

IT would be idle to pretend that these three books will be immediately useful in enlarging Henry James's public. Written with the marvellous self-absorbed intensity characteristic of his last period, they are an author's unfinished testament dedicated to his devotees. By old students of his intricate mind and his elaborate craftsmanship they will be found full of technical interest, psychological illumination, and highly specialized forms of artistic excitement and pleasure.

"The Middle Years" is a continuation of the autobiographical record begun in "Notes of a Son and Brother" and "A Small Boy and Others." The reminiscences "fondled" in this unfinished volume date from 1869; but, as the editor, Mr. Percy Lubbock, remarks, "there is no indication of the course which the book would have taken or the precise period it was intended to cover." The subject of the completed portion, however, is quite obviously Henry James's joy in returning to England and in adjusting his consciousness to the English scene. It is difficult to indicate exactly the centre of his interest in this adventure of his young impressionable soul. He recalls the buttered muffins on which he breakfasted in the coffee-room of the old Adelphi Hotel, the eating-houses of which he had read in the novels of Dickens, scenes of which he had dreamed over the pictures of Hogarth, a moment when he found himself admiring a Titian in the National Gallery side by side with Swinburne, his shattering discovery that his best-beloved poet Tennyson was not a Tennysonian, the superior vitality and effect of reality in Browning's rendition of his poems, and two visits paid to George Eliot. Here is perhaps matter enough for a hundred pages of recollections; but James appears to feel no desire to present the London of 1869 or its literary celebrities. The names of these people and places he uses but as phrases of magic to unlock the caverns of memory. The treasures that he brings forth and gloats over are of the most incommunicable and intangible values—his sense of the pregnancy of his own spirit, the precise quality of his expectancy, the intriguing multiplicity of his sensations, the peculiar nature of the thrill attendant upon the discovery of the relation between his "fantastications" and the real thing. As in the earlier volumes of memoirs, introspection is pushed to the verge of mania. To the normal mind there is something almost uncanny in this detached yet rapturous scrutiny of the states of one's own consciousness, dissolving the solid universe in an extraordinarily intent egoism.

"The Sense of the Past" must have been incubated along with "The Middle Years," for some of the figures and phrases of the latter appear in the former; the hero of the fantasy, Ralph Pendrel, duplicates Henry James's complex type of consciousness and undergoes experiences strictly parallel to those of the passionate pilgrim of 1869. Ralph is an American with a "sense of the past," with a poetic attachment to England, and with such an eager curiosity about it as a romantic girl may be imagined to feel concerning the person of an unknown prince to whom she was betrothed in her cradle. This exquisite gentleman has tentatively engaged himself to an American widow of forward-looking disposition with a predilection for "men who do things"; sophisticated, sated with Europe, she demands as a fine experiment a purely American man. Ralph, on the other hand, yearns towards some fair woman with a penumbra of historical associations who might have sat for a Titian or a Veronese. Having established this interesting incompatibility of ideals, Henry James sends his hero to England to take possession of an old London house bequeathed to him by an English relative. The house takes possession of him. The past lives behind its doors. Literally enchanted by its "sweet staleness," its visible palpable antiquity, Ralph Pendrel slips out of his own generation and pursues the mistress of his dreams through a vanished age. His affair of the heart with Molly Midmore, a radiant ghost of the old time, is charmingly conceived, and in its swift, bright spontaneity is in richly amusive contrast with the hesitating, perplexed American courtship of the later time. The stratagems by which James circumvents the present age and sustains his shadowy figures in an air of old sunlight, almost but not quite like actuality, are of a masterly subtlety. If he had completed the tale, we should probably have called it the only rival in English to "The Turn of the Screw." It is a beautiful fragment perfumed with the most romantic memories of the author's youth and passionate with a curious nostalgia.

"The Ivory Tower," of which the principal established scene is Newport, associates itself rather with "The Golden Bowl," though it does not contain any promise of the luxurious richness of atmosphere and the symbolic splendors which distinguish that masterpiece. The admirably cultivated young man with European background, whom Henry James studied all his life, reappears in company with a second young man of the harder American fibre to whom he entrusts the management of his inheritance. There is a big sensible American girl with an enormous fortune left to her by that weazened captain of industry, her father; and then there is the second girl with an instinct for getting on in the world by her brains and her beauty. The plot is contrived to show what money does to the characters of this quartet; and it proves afresh the author's immense delight in the invention of indirect means for revealing the true relations of his actors to one another.

The value of "The Sense of the Past" and "The Ivory Tower" to one studious of James's methods is greatly increased by the inclusion in the respective volumes of the first draft or rather the private prospectus of each of these stories. These singular documents, written from dictation, reproduce the very processes of conception—show us the artist in the act of thinking out his book, and clutching, as he picturesquely puts it, at "the tip of the tail" of his idea in the gradual dawn of his imagination. What impresses one most in the exhibition of these embryos is the order in which their parts develop. Before the creator knows accurately the scene of his action or the names, ages, and external aspects of his persons or anything specifically that they are to say or to do, he is in possession of what is for him a quite fascinating psychological situation constituted by the juxtaposition of certain general types of character, who will give him all that he requires of "action" and all that he requires of excitement by the mere process of becoming fully

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aware of one another. The task that he then sets himself is to fix the reader's attention on this internal drama of recognition and appreciation with the utmost economy of means, that is to say, of dialogue, visible incident, and ordinary narrative movement. The story, one may say, is conceived and matured without hands, feet, or viscera; and if it pops into the world without locomotor appendages or cerebellum, it is because in the commotion and high interest of the cerebral life under his consideration he has overlooked these vulgar and, to his sense, almost unnecessary organs. The social novel of Newport thus impresses one as almost as phantasmal as the London fantasy, but is devoid of the poignant romantic sentiment and the visionary passion which in "The Sense of the Past" affect the emotions like a remembered fragrance.

William M. Chase

The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase. By Katherine Metcalf Roof. With Letters, Personal Reminiscences, and Illustrative Material. Introduction by Alice Gerson Chase. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $4 net.

NOTHING is more difficult than to write an interesting biography of an artist, for most artists have no lives apart from their work. Of course, there are exceptions. That fantastic blackguard Cellini immortalized by his autobiography a name that his art might hardly have preserved; Chester Harding, a third-rate portrait painter, appears to us the incarnation of an epoch; and Whistler's wit and Whistler's quarrels interest thousands who care little for Whistler's painting.

The late William M. Chase was not of these exceptions. He lived, he painted, he taught. All the best of him went into his painting and his teaching, and there is little left that can be carried over into print. He had a certain personal picturesqueness, carefully preserved, but he was not an articulate person and had a distrust, not uncommon among artists, of those who were more articulate than himself. He remarked of some one unnamed: "No, he is not a great painter. They never are—that sort. Talks too well." His letters show him an affectionate husband and father, but they show little else except where he was at a particular time. His criticism is nearly limited to the statement that this picture is "fine," with more or less underscoring of the word, or that another is a "terrible thing."

The difficulty of her subject, then, rather than her own limitations, must be held answerable for a certain lack of interest in Miss Roof's life of the painter. A pupil of the master's, she is definitely and entirely of the Chase school and can see little good outside it. Most of Chase's contemporaries, the "young men" of the seventies and eighties, had a profound scorn for the earlier American art and imagined themselves the first in this country to know what painting is. Those of them who have lived to be the "old men" of to-day have seen reason to modify their judgments, to admire qualities in the work of their predecessors which are sometimes lacking in contemporary production, and to doubt if the movement in which they participated was in all respects so admirable as they once thought it. It is very probable that Chase himself would have admitted, in his later years, some such revision of his earlier opinions, but Miss Roof is more Catholic than the Pope and has no misgivings. There is a delightful naïveté in her contemptuous allusions to the Hudson River school, to the academic painters, to the producers of "bon-bon boxes."

Chase was very definitely of his time, of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The strenuous days of nineteenth-century naturalism—the days of detailed study of nature or of the laborious investigation of light—were over, and he had hardly a trace of the scientific spirit. But naturalism was apparently everywhere triumphant and had become current practice. No one cared any longer for severe drawing or balanced composition; a firm line was a scarce, pardonable fault and an evident design was a betrayal of nature. To tell a story or to show interest in a subject was to be "literary," and to say that a painter was literary was almost more damning than to say he was "academic."

Chase was not a delicate æsthetician like Whistler, nor a natural draughtsman like Sargent, though he had learned enough drawing in his school days in Munich to preserve him from the worst dangers of his own teaching. He was, perhaps, more completely the painter—the renderer of the look of things—than either of them. He was a cool and acute observer, quite untroubled by emotion and unbiassed by theory; he delighted in objects of all sorts rather than in subtleties of atmosphere and envelope, but in the surfaces and appearances of objects rather than in their structure. He delighted in the exercise of his faculties and the display of his skill, in the manipulation of fat masses of paint or the light touch and go of the brush-placing accents just where they were wanted without troubling to unite them.

He experimented yet more widely in the subject-matter of his painting than in the manner of it. With his almost exclusive interest in rendering, one thing was as good as another for its exercise. Indeed, the simplest thing might be the better in that it was less distracting from the problems of pure painting. And if anything was good enough to paint, so, if you could paint at all, you could paint anything. As he put it: "If you can paint a pot, you can paint an angel." Perhaps this is true if you can first see your angel. He never attempted the angel, but he did paint almost everything he could see. He painted portraits, interiors, figures out of doors, landscapes, still life. He even painted the nude, now and then, with some success. All these things he painted admirably—sometimes superbly—within the limitations inevitably set for him. It is fine painting, nearly always, that he produces—it is never anything more. He had not the grasp of character that marks the great portrait painter or the interest in structure that makes the painter of the nude. He could render a landscape as brilliantly as he rendered a brass kettle, but he rendered it with as little emotion. He is always the painter of things, and his function was to show us how much beauty there is in things we see every day and scarcely notice.

With all the variety of his production it is perhaps in pure still life that Chase was most wholly successful and is most likely to be permanently enjoyable, not so much because he painted it better than other things as because we ask nothing else of a still life than fine painting. The kind of art he both preached and practiced is, essentially, the treatment of everything in terms of still life, and it is in still life that it finds its best material. And perhaps he did paint better in his still-life pictures than in other things, having nothing else to do than to paint his best. The iridescent gleam of the scales of a shad, the pearly whiteness of a cod's belly or the lucent brown of his back, the sharp scarlet of a red pepper on a green-gray table, the rich glow of copper, or the

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smoky black of an iron pot—by such things he was almost inspired, and he painted them with inimitable gusto and with a richness of material, now liquidly flowing, now heavily impasted, very rare in any painting of any time.

Like all men, his work is uneven, and there is so much of it that its unevenness is the more striking. The best of it marks him a painter of the line of Hals and Vollon. And he occupied so large a place in the art of America during forty years that he cannot conceivably be forgotten, whatever the future course of that art may be.

Psychology as Pseudo-Science

Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious. By Sigmund Freud. Translated by A. A. Brill. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company. $2.50 net.

Analytical Psychology. By C. G. Jung. Translated by Constance E. Long. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company. $3.50 net.

HERE are two new attempts from the workshop of what is masquerading under the name of psychology to provide explanations for objects with which psychology has no concern. The four hundred pages of Freud offer a long-suffering humanity a psychological explanation of wit, and, like many another current "explanation," leave the reader still seeking an understanding of it.

But Freud does not lack in courage. Assuming that an analysis and classification of the various forms of wit are necessary, he faces the problem with a stout heart, if with no discriminating sense of proportion. He presents three techniques, each of which is analyzable into from two to five sub-techniques; and as the work of analysis proceeds, each of these comes in for a fair share of peculiar adaptive twists in statement and meaning. Obscene wit is one of the more important of the sub-techniques in that it gives us a clue to the origin and explanation of all forms in previous experience represented in a psychic complex of activities which the author calls "wit-work." Besides its theoretical importance, it gives opportunity for revelry in the sexual, which is one of the larger elements in the formation and enjoyment of wit, and provides a convenient point of reference for "explanation" in the hypothetical infantile experience. As a result of his analysis, the author lays claim to the discovery of two "axioms," the first of which states that the character of wit depends on the mode of expression, and the second that the feeling of pleasure is connected with the technique of wit (p. 135).

The second division of the work, styled synthesis, brings together the various threads of the argument and forms the basis of some rather vague suggestions of explanations to be offered in the third, or theoretical, part of the work. One approaches this last part of the book with much trepidation; for in referring to the misunderstanding that followed the appearance of his "The Interpretation of Dreams," the author says: "In my continued occupation with the problems considered therein . . . I found nothing that would impel me to change or improve on my ideas; I can therefore peacefully wait until the reader's comprehension has risen to my level, or until an intelligent critic has pointed out to me the basic faults in my conception" (p. 250). Without making any claims to having arrived at the dizziness of Freud's level, the reviewer would like timidly to suggest that the basic faults in his conception may be due, first, to the cocksureness of a mechanistic psychology, and, second, to a patent error in method. Freud assumes that knowledge of a given type of phenomena may be best acquired by the application of scientific method to distorted and fragmentary facts, whereas that method has been developed with reference to facts of normal character.

This sort of thing serves well enough for those who are content with metaphors as explanations, and if the physician can do anything with it in a practical way there will also doubtless be no objection; but when it is paraded as a respectable description of some of the rarer values in experience, reducing those experiences to the form of quantities and energies, it cannot be too plainly labelled as nonsense. All these pretended explanations get what plausibility they have from their reference of the values of the mind to the energies of the organism. While it is beyond doubt that there is some relation between the mind and the body, just what that relation is fundamentally is not well enough known to justify us in assuming that the physician is by necessity a psychologist. Even assuming that he is, it is very much to be preferred that the physician fight shy of muckraking in the realm of the "psychic."

Perhaps the most important section of Jung's book is the long chapter devoted to method. Three lectures delivered at Clark University in 1909 make up the content of the chapter, the first attempting to state the elements of the method as a whole, the second applying the method to familiar association groups, and the third describing how the knowledge of the mysteries of sex is demanded by and should be imparted to a baby girl of four years. The general method described is the familiar one involving the relation of stimulus to response. For Jung the response has certain symbolical meanings (p. 223), analysis of which discloses the life history of the subject, especially in those critical periods which are accompanied by nervous and mental disorders. These critical periods involve conflicts in the life purposes of the individual, and are usually, though not always—at this point differing from Freud—closely related to the sexual functions. These conflicts do not refer back to the infantile experience, as Freud insists. The object of analysis is to discover the constitution of the unconscious, in which is the key to disturbances in the personality.

Taken as a whole, the procedure here marked out would hardly be recognized as scientific anywhere outside of certain present pseudo-scientific movements in which a distorted conception of the practical is the guiding motive. From reading Jung's book it would appear that the meaning of the practical is nowhere worse distorted than in the minds of those physicians who feel that it is necessary to restore balance to the minds of the insane through the application of bad psychology. Neither medicine nor psychology would consent to the stretching of scientific procedure to the point of including symbolism and loose analogy as its fundamental factors; the slightest acquaintance with logic would lead to their being discarded without comment. Jung seems at times to feel the incongruity of his own thought, as when he says that his own method is "exquisitely psychological, and therefore belongs neither to the realm of medicine nor to that of experimental psychology" (p. 206). What the peculiar brand of exquisiteness is we are not told, but it has a way of elaborating things into "something higher and more complicated," where the standpoint is "speculative" and of "only subjective validity" (p. 342). This sort of statement leads one to suspect that the kinds of analogical relation

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common to psycho-analysis exist nowhere except in the mind of the "analyst" and that they would be repudiated by any student worthy the name of scientific. The description of a mind constituted in accordance with the requirements of the analyst and of the cathartic methods employed by the analyst makes rather gloomy reading. One wonders whether after all the proper conception of human nature is determined by the study of its fragmentary forms, and whether for our insights into human life and destiny we may look to the insane clinic with any more assurance than for the secrets of social and moral order we could look to the study of a drunken brawl.

A History of American Journalism

A History of American Journalism. By James Melvin Lee. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50 net.

PROFESSOR Lee has entered a field too long bare of adequate survey and has assembled a mass of material of great interest not only to the journalist and historian, but to the general reader as well. He has set forth not only the beginnings of our journalism and the story of its progress, but many quaint items, personal anecdotes, and forgotten facts of what remains, despite all its faults, the most fascinating of professions. Particularly valuable is his tracing of the first colonial newspapers, in regard to which there have already arisen myths. All told, he has brought together a veritable storehouse of material which will make his volume for a long time to come a most valuable textbook in schools of journalism and an invaluable reference work in newspaper offices and public libraries.

It cannot, however, be said that this is the definitive work in this field for which we have been waiting. The difficulty of the task is obvious, and we can imagine that Professor Lee spent many hours puzzling as to what was the best way of treating so vast a subject. He devotes but one chapter of twenty-one pages to the profession of to-day, while to the beginnings of the profession abroad and in the Colonies and States he gives nine of his twenty chapters. Interspersed among these nine are chapters dealing with various periods, the Colonial, the Revolutionary, and those of The Early Republic and The Party Press. Later the author treats of a Transition Period, the epoch between the Mexican and Civil Wars, which he follows with four chapters given over to the years from 1860 to 1917.

Defensible as this arrangement perhaps is, it leaves the reader with no impression of a consecutive narrative, or of a consistent tracing either of the development of the press or of its correlation with the economic and political progress of the nation. The lack of a straightforward narrative is heightened by the method of presenting the matter. Here Professor Lee is too journalistic; the reader begins to wonder if the author had not been collecting items in a box for some years before drawing them out and pasting them together. This is an injustice, for there is overwhelming evidence of tireless industry; yet the effect is as stated. Thus, we leap from "journalism in the Republic of Texas" to a brief record of Samuel Topliff and the use of carrier pigeons in Boston as news distributers, and a couple of pages later to James Fenimore Cooper's wholesale libel suits of 1841-42—soon after which we get to a chapter on the beginnings of journalism in the Western States and Territories!

It was, of course, impossible for Professor Lee to cover the whole field in a single volume, but there are none the less surprising omissions. Thus, there is no reference to the weekly press of the country save incidentally to the establishment of the dailies. In these Professor Lee is so interested that he excludes from his volume all reference to religious journalism, and to such powerful secular organs of public opinion as *Harper's Weekly*, the *Independent*, and the *Outlook*. Even the *Nation* finds itself without mention after its fifty-three years of existence. Plainly, there should have been a different title to this book; or perhaps Professor Lee will give us later on a study of these two important fields. The tremendous influence of the *Weekly Tribune* during the days before Greeley plunged into politics and started it on its unbroken career of loss of prestige is alone worth a monograph. One misses in Professor Lee's volume, too, any tribute to the war correspondents and the Washington correspondents. While there is a reference to the New York *Times's* immortal service in exposing the Tweed ring, it is given less than a page. Somehow it is hard to be satisfied with a history of American journalism that makes no reference to its ablest daily leader-writer, Edwin L. Godkin, and passes over with merest mention that knight in shining armor, George William Curtis, as well as Sidney Howard Gay, John Russell Young, Henry W. Grady, and Whitelaw Reid, not to mention many others.

Professor Lee evidently intended his volume to be not a critical or interpretative or exhaustive work, but, as we have said, a storehouse of facts—more or less related. As that it will have its own place, which makes it the more regrettable that the index is so deficient as to be valueless.

The Blacksmith Preacher

The Life and Letters of Robert Collyer. By John Haynes Holmes. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 2 vols. $5.00.

DR. ROBERT COLLYER'S picturesque figure and benignant face were familiar far beyond the two cities in which he was known as a famous Unitarian preacher; that he had left the forge of the blacksmith to enter the pulpit was a story often repeated; and at least one incident of his life—his preaching to his people the Sunday after the Chicago fire, when he stood like an old Covenanter amid the ruins of his church and uttered words that became the appealing, yet hopeful, voice of Chicago itself—was reported round the world. In all this the man stood revealed. He told his own story and men might see him as he was.

In certain respects the life of Robert Collyer, born amid conditions as humble as those that greeted Abraham Lincoln, was typically American, even though he was a Yorkshire lad and came to this country only at the age of twenty-eight. His parents had been orphaned workhouse children and factory hands, but they gave him a sturdy frame, an appetite for hard work, a love of learning, a genial humor, allied as humor must be to tender understanding, and a broad, simple dignity which seems expressed in his very name. Only such natural equipment could have withstood the tragedy of a child's life in the linen mills of Yorkshire, which he endured for six years, beginning as a boy of eight. The freedom of the earlier years, when he raced over the purple moors, went to school and worked at home, trained by "a Puritan conscience and a cheerful heart," doubtless helped. In the days before the passage of the Factory Acts, little children in England worked steadily

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seventy-six hours a week, stung by the lash if they ventured to sit down. Many died and the rest were crippled. Robert was big and strong, but his legs were twisted like those of his companions, and only his later work as blacksmith straightened them out. The traces left on his thought and spirit were not so easily cured.

The story of the events that led to Collyer's decision to preach and later to emigrate are told by Mr. Holmes with full appreciation of the dramatic quality in their sequence. His insatiable love of reading and his joy in preaching filled the spaces between work at the Pennsylvania forge, and his domestic life, here as throughout his entire life, was the source of continual inspiration and refreshment. When there was a lay-off in the factory he carried a hod for the bricklayers, and "Mother" comforted him for the "perfectly new and original bumps" on his poor head. He had what he called "the scare of a lifetime" when his broad Yorkshire dialect failed to carry his meaning to his hearers.

During his nine years in Pennsylvania, working and studying and preaching, came the second great crisis in Collyer's religious experiences, the first his sudden, emotional conversion to Methodism, the other his gradual development into the faith with which his name is mainly associated, a change worked out for the most part unhelped. Robert Collyer's identification with the life of Chicago marks the best-known phase of his ministry. Mr. Holmes says of it: "Not more nearly was Savonarola related to Florence, or Parker to Boston, or Beecher to Brooklyn, than the blacksmith preacher to the Western metropolis." The wonderful story of Chicago's growth and spirit, of joyous service with Unity Church, and of valiant, unwearying work made imperative by the Civil War and reconstruction days, is told by Mr. Holmes with vivid descriptive power and just appreciation.

In Chicago Dr. Collyer gave his best, and touched the mark of his highest power, but a knowledge of his ministry in New York, where he slowly ripened into a radiant old age, is equally necessary for an understanding of the significance of his life. At fifty-six, with not less nobility of spirit, he entered upon the quieter service and the increasing honor of later life. When Dr. Savage, for ten years his colleague, had to drop his work, Dr. Collyer, then eighty-six, took up again the full burden of church administration, as if, says his biographer, he were preparing to enter a new career. This period ended with the coming of Mr. Holmes to relieve him and with his eighth and final visit to his still-beloved England, a trip crowned with honors.

In no way is the character of Dr. Collyer made more manifest than in the relation, creditable on both sides, which he held to his young colleague. Mr. Holmes deserves thanks for speaking of these relations frankly and tenderly. Mr. Holmes's theories often differed from Dr. Collyer's, but the younger man received unfailing support and coöperation from the older one. This was due, not to indifference or even to courteous tolerance, but to affectionate trust and an understanding of that hatred of oppression and that ardent sympathy with the oppressed which stirred the soul of the young prophet and dictated his vigorous utterance. It is a story not told by Mr. Holmes, that when Dr. Collyer was once asked if he were not shocked by his colleague's socialism, he replied: "Yes, he sometimes makes the cold shivers run down my back; but then I reflect that when he is as old as I am some other young man will come along and make the cold shivers run down his back; and so it's all right."

Notes

BONI & LIVERIGHT announce for publication during February and March the following volumes: "The Unbroken Tradition," by Nora Connolly; "The Hand of the Potter," by Theodore Dreiser; "Men in War," by Andreas Latzko; "Marie Grubbe," by Jens Peter Jacobsen; "Bernard Shaw—His Life and Works," by Archibald Henderson; "Sanity of Art," by George Bernard Shaw; "Not Guilty," by Robert Blatchford; "Mariana," by José Echegaray; "Erdgeist" and "Pandora's Box," by Frank Wedekind.

In the near future G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish the following volumes: "The Smiting of the Rock," by Palmer Bend; "Deductions from the World War," by Lieut.-General von Freytag-Loringhoven; "The Destiny of the Stars," by Dr. Svante Arrhenius, translated by J. E. Fries; "A Short History of France," by Mme. Duclaux; "The Science of Power," by Benjamin Kidd. The Putnams, acting as the American representatives of the Cambridge University Press, announce the publication of the following volumes: "Rabelais and His Writings," by W. F. Smith; Cambridge Essays on Education," by A. C. Benson, introduction by the Right Honorable Viscount Bryce; "Selections from the Poems of William Wordsworth," edited by A. Hamilton Thompson.

The Century Company announces for publication during March the following volumes: "Film Folk," by Rob Wagner; "Donald Thompson in Russia"; "Roving and Fighting," the adventures of Major Edward S. (Tex) O'Reilly; "The Woman Voter's Manual," by S. E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler; and "Battering the Boche," by Preston Gibson.

Little, Brown & Company announce for publication this season the following war books: "Great Britain at War," by Jeffery Farnol; "A Soldier Unafraid: Letters from the Trenches of the Alsatian Front," by Captain André Cornet-Auquier, translated by Theodore Stanton; "The Adventures of Arnold Adair, American Ace," by Laurence La Tourette Driggs; and "Three Centuries of Peace and Their Teaching," by the Right Hon. W. G. F. Phillimore. March 27 is the date set for E. Phillips Oppenheim's "The Pawns Count."

Among the books announced for publication this spring by the Princeton University Press are: "Wasp Studies Afield," by Phil and Nellie Rau; "Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence," by E. Baldwin Smith; "Crime Prevention," by Arthur Woods; "Early Egyptian Records of Travel," Volume III, by David Paton; and "A Lithuanian Etymological Index," by H. H. Bender.

Contributors to this Issue

RICHARD ROBERTS has recently come from England to be the pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, in Brooklyn.

MANYA GORDON STRUNSKY was born in Russia and educated in the United States. She has written extensively on Russian topics.

ROBERT BRUERE has made special studies of the activities of the I. W. W. in the West.

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SOME fourteen years ago there was reviewed in these columns a very significant tribute to Spanish scholarship in the *Homanaje* to Francisco Codera on his jubilee as professor. He died on November 6 of last year, and there has now reached this country a little *In Memoriam* by his pupil and friend Eduardo Ibarra. All Spanish Arabists were his pupils, and all who took to heart the Moslem history of Spain were his friends. His life had been a very beautiful one, simple, devout, hardworking, devoted, crowned with such honors as Spain has for the scholar, rich in a long series of texts and studies, and in the more mechanical but fundamental labors of indices and catalogues of coins and history and geography. He was a son, too, of the soil, sprung of a race of Arragonian farmers—and he loved the soil and the life of the farmer to the end. His pupils looked to him as an answer to all sneers at Spanish scholarship and religion. "He conocido un *sabio*," says Ibarra, "he conocido un santo." And his life and work are a testimony that all things in Spain are not cosas de España.

THE second volume of the Scandinavian monographs—"Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain During the Eighteenth Century" (American-Scandinavian Foundation; $3), by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt, admirably fulfils the general purpose of the series. It deals with a characteristic phase of Scandinavian literary history, and traces its connection with England and even with America—for not the least interesting chapter in the book is the introductory account of the relations of the two greatest of ballad editors, Grundtvig and Child. Dr. Hustvedt has, of necessity, to deal with a considerable mass of relatively unimportant matters, significant only in bulk, and perhaps better handled by means of a fully annotated bibliography. Inevitably, therefore, portions of his book are but dull reading. Where, however, his subject-matter justifies elaboration, as in the case of the greater editors, his narrative becomes interesting not only to the ballad specialist, but to any student of English or Scandinavian literature. Percy, for example, is very adequately placed in his literary surroundings; his debt to Shenstone is set forth and he himself is accounted for in the light of the literary morality of his times; the development of the "Reliques" through its various editions and its inception and its influence are traced. It was precisely because Percy was "curious and elegant" that he rescued the famous manuscript and published portions of it in a form that met the approval of his day and generation. Readers who are endeavoring to establish for themselves a sense of what the popular ballad really is will follow with interest the history of the gradual development of the conception of the type. In the light of Dr. Hustvedt's account of the various editors they will study with a new sense of significance the versions which Child has taken from their collections. It is to be regretted that Dr. Hustvedt allowed the accident of date of publication to exclude from his consideration the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" and its editor. Scott's editorial and literary work forms, as Dr. Hustvedt says, "the culmination of the whole movement, English as well as Scottish." It may not be possible to make any significant addition to the discussion of T. F. Henderson, Colonel Elliott, and Andrew Lang, yet an interpretation of that controversy in the light of the whole history of ballad editing and criticism would have been of great value and would have rounded out and crowned the work.

"PAWNS of War," a Belgian war tragedy, by Bosworth Crocker (Little, Brown & Co.; $1.25 net), deserves the praise accorded to it in a characteristic foreword by John Galsworthy. Whether founded upon actual fact or not, the essential veracity of its details might be demonstrated by abundant precedent. The scene is laid in a Belgian town whose Burgomaster has been seized by the German invaders and compelled to issue a proclamation that the shooting of a German soldier will be punished by the execution of the entire family of the offender. The Burgomaster's eldest son—the second has already fallen in a skirmish—kills a drunken officer who is attacking his sister, and is promptly executed with his father, although the latter has saved the life of the commanding general. The wife and sister of the victims are permitted to live, but the reason of the former is hopelessly shattered. The play is written with forcible and poignant simplicity, a strong sense of dramatic effect, and a notable freedom from melodramatic exaggeration. The author, with a rare appreciation of artistic values, has even dared to represent the German general as a man forced by the military tyranny of which he is the creature and agent to disobey the promptings of his own naturally humane instincts. The demoralizing effects of war are thus illustrated in most pregnant fashion, while a double significance is given to the title. In its unflinching realism and its very deep, unaffected pathos, this little work is superior to most of the contemporaneous war plays which have yet reached the footlights.

"SOCIAL and International Ideals," by Bernard Bosanquet (Macmillan; $2.25), is a collection of sixteen essays and addresses, all but one of them previously published, dealing with various theoretical or philosophical aspects of history, economics, charity, and state control. Such unity as the papers possess springs from their assumption of a common theory, namely, that "the nature of our patriotism is what creates the peaceful or the warlike atmosphere"; and that this nature "is displayed and operates primarily through the degree in which rights are organized within the social and political community." Whether or not the life of the state is sound depends upon "our conception of the good we chiefly desire." A non-military state is healthy, while a state which lives in an atmosphere of war

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is diseased. Such "supreme values" as beauty, truth, or kindness, instead of being socially unpractical, possess "organizing power" and the "will to peace" is the only will that seeks peace for its own sake. None of these papers, Mr. Bosanquet tells us, was written with a view to present war conditions, but the student of social ideals will nevertheless find in them much that is suggestive regarding present problems of social reconstruction.

"OLD Salem" is a name to conjure with, and Mary H. Northend's attractive book invites the attention. A large number of excellent photographs serve as illustrations —architectural details, furniture, dishes, samplers, fans, and various reminders of bygone days. Those which are most characteristic of Salem are the figureheads of old merchant ships, and the beautiful mantels and doors by McIntire. The pity is that the text is not worthy of these embellishments. Salem is too real a place to be described by the sham memoir of a pretended great-grandmother. ("Memories of Old Salem"; Moffat, Yard & Co.; $4.)

PETROLEUM is an increasingly important element in the life of modern Mexico, but the conflicting interests that centre around its production do not constitute "The Mexican Problem." In his little book bearing that title (Houghton; $1), Mr. C. W. Barron treats of little else. He tells in an interesting, if disconnected, fashion how the oil fields near Tampico were discovered and developed and how this development stabilized the population in the immediate vicinity and contributed to a semblance of law and order that contrasts favorably with the anarchy prevailing elsewhere. This result has been achieved without direct interposition by foreign Governments, and, the author would have us believe, without the corporations immediately concerned exerting undue influence in local affairs. In "oil" rather than "soil" he finds the promise of future well-being for the Mexicans, and in the growing outside demand for this product he perceives the necessity for employing external pressure, if need be, to keep them peaceable and industrious, and finally to merge their diverse elements into a prosperous and happy nation. Naturally he believes the moral responsibility for this problem and its solution rests on the United States, with Mr. Edward L. Dohemy, engineer, prospector, miner, and pioneer developer, as its chief agent. Mr. Talcott Williams, from his manifold experience in the backward regions of the earth and his sympathy as a fellow-journalistic craftsman, supports Mr. Barron's idea in an enthusiastic introduction. We may recognize the weight of their combined views and appreciate Mr. Barron's sprightly description of the oil zone of Mexico, without losing sight of the fact that the salvation of that afflicted country is not to be found merely in economic remedies, and above all not in petroleum alone.

"THE Advanced Montessori Method," by Maria Montessori, consists of two independent volumes (F. A. Stokes Co.; $3.80 for the two volumes or $2 each), entitled respectively "Spontaneous Activity in Education" and "The Montessori Elementary Material." The latter carries forward for use with pupils of primary-school age (those who have begun to read and write) the principles first outlined in "The Montessori Method"; the former gives the results of the author's experience with such pupils in the Montessori primary schools. Of the author's educational philosophy as expounded in this volume on "Spontaneous Activity," it will be sufficient to say that it is readable and entertaining, but neither very coherent nor very profound; one is chiefly impressed by her bland self-sufficiency. The other volume, on "Elementary Material," has the advantage of supplying the inquiring reader with detailed information regarding the Montessori method, as applied in particular to grammar, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, and music. One learns, for example, that grammar is taught by means of "grammar boxes" containing, in several compartments, seven, eight, nine, or ten parts of speech, printed upon cards of various colors, the combination of which into sentences is to furnish the child with an engrossing occupation—all of which suggests that Madame Montessori's conception of grammar is delightfully primitive; it is evident that she takes the "parts" of speech quite literally.

A RECENT book that may be taken as typical of the uses to which literary bibliography is put in a century which has enormously developed that department of erudition is Professor Elbert N. S. Thompson's work on "John Milton: Topical Bibliography" (Yale University Press; $1.15), a useful compilation of titles arranged, under each heading, in chronological order. The topics are sufficiently numerous and explicit. For instance, in "Milton's Education" may be found subdivisions on "English Schools of the Seventeenth Century," "Cambridge in Milton's Time," and "Travel in the Seventeenth Century," all of which refer to good contemporary witnesses and modern authorities. Particularly useful, in other parts of the book as in this, are the citations of those passages in Milton's writings which have autobiographical significance. Necessarily selective, the bibliography is sensible and adequate in its inclusions. There are errors of detail, as when the translator of Vondel's "Lucifer" is called L. C. Van Hoppen (p. 70) and J. J. Higginson's "Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar" (1912) appears as an edition of the poem (p. 40) and not as a treatise concerning it. Mr. Thompson seems not to know that Toland's life of Milton was first printed in the 1698 edition of his prose, or that a manuscript copy of "Paradise Lost" is in the Morgan collection. Nevertheless, the little volume is a convenient and valuable guide to a great poet.

IF one is a little tired of war books as such—books whose only excuse for being is frequently their subject—one will be invigorated by Madame Huard's sequel, "My Home in the Field of Mercy" (Doran; $1.35 net). She is one of the few writers who can touch the theme without sensationalism or sentimentalism. Her "home," which the Germans in their retreat did their best to deprive of that title, is the Château Villiers. It lies within sound of the guns at Soissons, so nearly within sound that Madame Huard's one hundred and twenty typhoid patients for days on end would start up in delirium imagining that they were still under fire, with "Now then, boys, we're off! *En avant, en avant!*" How she and her nine orderlies, one doctor, and her friend Madame Guix together cared for these one hundred and twenty patients, how later she went to Soissons during one of its periods of evacuation, under intense bombardment, to fetch four sacks of tobacco for her men, the humorous and heartrending scenes that she witnessed there, and during the long nights on duty in the wards, are all described with a sympathy and an appreciation of the true value of the situation that make her book real and vivid.

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Drama

Ancient Tragedy Never Old

"EURIPIDES is going to have his day," said Bernard Shaw some years ago; "he will have a greater audience than ever before." New York has lately come to the same belief, and a stately procession of Greek women has within a few weeks passed before our unaccustomed eyes. Whether we are in revolt against the flimsy theatrical offerings of the season, or whether serious times breed serious tastes, the public has accorded honorable welcome to Electra, Medea, Iphigenia, Phædra (in the Hippolytus), and the Women of Troy.

American colleges have as a matter of course given these plays at intervals, but a worthy professional production of any Greek play is a seven years' wonder. With the exception of Granville Barker's lamentable productions, New York has had to wait till the present season for a Greek feast, but with five plays and two sets of classic dancers within a fortnight, it is now not far behind England's record of eight Greek plays in three weeks. Gilbert Murray's winged words have made it possible for thousands of people to whom the Attic dramatists have been but dusty textbooks to enjoy Euripides for the first time. Margaret Anglin during the California Exposition gave the "Medea" and "Iphigenia in Aulis" in the open-air Greek theatre at Berkeley, where moonlight and the perfumed eucalyptus enhanced the spectacle. The "Electra" of Sophocles has now been added to her Hellenic répertoire.

The first of Miss Anglin's New York productions was the "Electra," staged with surpassing beauty. Architecturally satisfying and technically clever was the arrangement of stone steps and approaches to the palace. The background of throbbing blue gave depth and reality to the whole. On a larger scale the setting closely resembled that at the Neighborhood Playhouse in Miss Matthison's recent revival of "Everyman." In color, costume, grouping, and posture, the chorus in the "Electra" formed a most sympathetic foreground. No attempt was made to suggest the old Greek chorus, but after Granville Barker's astonishing choric evolutions in "The Trojan Women," the repose of these groups was grateful. Sophocles is harder to give to a modern audience than Euripides, and Plumptre as a translator has not the life-giving touch of Gilbert Murray. Widespread gratitude, therefore, is due Miss Anglin for her attempt. The play was undertaken with a seriousness amounting almost to dignity, and to the eye, if not to the ear, it was full of beauty. Miss Anglin frankly did not aim to follow classical tradition, but to the admiring boxes her Electra was as acceptable as if it had been the Electra of Sophocles. Carnegie Hall filled to capacity with a breathless audience has proved that New Yorkers appreciate a great play when they have a chance to see one.

"Medea" is for our times a much more powerful play than "Electra," and the title rôle is easier to act, though not necessarily to act well. The uncouth raving that marred Electra might more easily be pardoned in Medea. But the great opportunity for depicting a rich and contradictory character was lost. Not for nothing was the Oriental Medea kin to Circe, nor were her charms only those of the magic cauldron. In every way she was skilled above the women of Corinth, yet Margaret Anglin's Medea is a hulking barbarian, who might have swept down with hairy tribes from the cold north. There is neither mystery nor touch of the sun about her, neither beauty nor awe, neither fascination nor jealousy, neither pathos nor fiendishness. One harsh note alone is heard. Even the heartbreaking scenes with her children are blighted by guttural artificiality. Through all the bungling one feels strongly that Miss Anglin "means well and tries hard," but that she has essayed too much with too great handicaps. Her limping imagination, exasperating voice, and meaningless movement are pitilessly revealed. To all these defects, however, a kindly audience would be deliberately blind were there an atoning sincerity of action; but whatever true feeling may be there is smothered in theatrical mannerisms. The other actors have cut their cloth according to the approved pattern and are clothed in the same unreality. The chorus of the "Medea" was not so intelligently grouped as that of the "Electra," but no one who saw it can forget the tragic white arms of the women vainly beating against the palace gate as Medea slew her children. Of the unwarranted intrusion of the orchestra and the nature of its assaults upon a long-suffering audience, it is better to say nothing.

For real appreciation of Euripides one turns with relief to Dorothea Spinney. Hers is no loud trumpeted performance; it has no splendor of setting. Alone on a small stage (at the Greenwich Village Playhouse, as well as at various schools and colleges), she bears the dread exile of Iphigenia, wends the long way from fallen Troy to hopeless captivity, and makes Phædra's death a living lie. It seems quite impossible for one person to give a satisfactory rendering of a Greek tragedy, but so vividly does she draw the characters that one forgets they are all being portrayed by one slight woman. More unusual than her character drawing is her Greek treatment of the impersonal chorus, with its delicate suggestion of rhythmic motion. A marvellous voice and speaking hands are largely responsible for Miss Spinney's success, but beyond these blessings are a fine intelligence and a deep sincerity. As she says of her own art, "It is very simple." It has the simplicity of truth.

It is not such a far cry from the Greek drama to the Japanese classic Noh. The religious origin, poetic development, conventional rendering, and large dependence on the chorus were common to both. But the Japanese stopped short, satisfied with appeal of the Noh to the very few, and never grew to the universal splendor of the Greek. From the beginning the Japanese Noh has been performed by a class apart from the professional theatre. The direction has passed from father to son, sometimes for forty generations, and it has been part of a gentleman's education to study the Noh, both as spectator and as actor. The plays themselves, unchanged since they uplifted the fifteenth-century daimyo, who countenanced no other dramatic performance,

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are still given by amateurs before invited audiences. The Neighborhood Playhouse, with its amateur actors and small selected audience, is therefore a fitting place for the first presentation of the Noh to an American public. "Tamura" was the lyric drama chosen for this purpose. Miss Irene Lewisohn, who made a devoted study of the Noh in Japan, gave an extremely interesting production that was both reverent and beautiful. One missed the hush of the Japanese audience, "wrapped in silence and grayness," for an untrained American audience must necessarily grope after the symbolism. The movement of the two actors was wisely simplified to meet the understanding of a new public, and the chanting of the chorus was more beautiful to Western ears than the strained harshness of the Japanese. Despite the necessary difference in stage and relation to the audience, the fidelity of the performance was remarkable. When Americans can learn to share the beauty of the highest Japanese dramatic art, one more step will have been gained in the fellowship of the two countries. M. H. B. M.

Finance

The Railway Control Bill

THE form in which the Railway Control bill passed the Senate last week will probably encourage the better feeling in regard to the railways which has already been manifested on the Stock Exchange. The Senate, it is true, rejected the amendment providing for return of the railways to their private owners in six months after peace is declared, and left the provision for eighteen months of retention by the Government. If the House were to accept the Senate's action and future Congresses were to make no change, the probability is that the railway managers themselves would be better satisfied with the longer than the shorter period. "Demobilization" of armies and industries will create temporarily as complicated a situation as mobilization.

But the truth is that no provision enacted to-day, and naming the date for returning the railways to their owners, can amount to anything more than expression of the wish of the present Congress. Any future Congress or any future session could amend or rescind it. The real importance of a specific declaration of the sort, in the present bill, is that it sets forth the individual purpose of the present lawmakers. It will dispose altogether of the possibility that the courts might hereafter construe the Railway Control act of 1918 as having implied an intention on the part of Congress to retain the roads indefinitely.

The more practically interesting parts of the Senate bill are its provisions—necessary in the circumstances—that the Government in administering the roads need not be bound by existing restrictive legislation, and the further provision that changes in rates shall be initiated by the President, but reviewed by the Interstate Commission. Apparently, this last proviso was drawn up with the idea of making possible prompt increase in rates, while still leaving the Commission to pass on and correct inequities or injustices which might arise from such action.

The Government's attitude in that matter, if the bill passes in its present form, will be highly interesting, and may conceivably set some sort of precedent for the longer future. At all events, rates must apparently be raised at once, unless the Government is to be a heavy loser through its railway-control experiment. The solving of urgent public problems, through such drastic orders and embargoes as have already been promulgated, represents an important achievement. But it was accomplished at the expense of the railways' earning power, and the same result is likely enough to follow future policies of the Director-General.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Frothingham, E. B. The Finding of Norah. Houghton Mifflin. 75 cents.
Saltykov, M. Y. A Family of Noblemen. Boni & Liveright. $1.50 net.
Tillier, C. My Uncle Benjamin. Boni & Liveright. $1.60 net.
Wemyss, M. C. E. Impossible People. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Wright, W. H. Great Modern French Stories. An Anthology. Boni & Liveright. $1.50 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

American Field Service in France, 1917. Camion Letters. Holt.
Bertrand, G., and Solbert, O. N. Tactics and Duties for Trench Fighting. Putnam. $1.50.
Bott, A. The Cavalry of the Clouds. Doubleday, Page.
Duncan, F. Home Vegetables and Small Fruits. Scribner. $1.40 net.
Hubbard, H. V., and Kimball, T. Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design. Macmillan. $6.00 net.
Kingsley, S. C., and Dresslar, F. B. Open-Air Schools. Government Printing Office.
Nelson, G. N. Income Tax Law and Accounting. Macmillan. $2.50.
Robertson, D. A. Quarter-Centennial Celebration of the University of Chicago. University of Chicago Press.
Sinks, P. W. Reign of the Manuscript. Gorham Press. $1.25 net.
Streeter, J. W. The Fat of the Land. Macmillan. $1.50 net.
Van Dyke, J. C. The Desert. Scribner. $2 net.
Yeats, W. B. Per Amica Silentia Lunæ. Macmillan. $1.50.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Haeckel, Weismann, etc. Evolution in Modern Thought. Putnam. 60 cents net.
Montgomery, J. A. Religions of the Past and Present. Lippincott. $2.50 net.
Troupe, J. F. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions. Gorham Press. $1 net.

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Ogg, F. A. National Progress, 1907-1917. Harper. $2 net.
Root, E. Political Addresses on the United States and the War and the Mission to Russia. Harvard University Press. $2.50 net.
Sugimori, K. The Principles of the Moral Empire. Hodder & Stoughton.
Zabriskie, L. K. The Virgin Islands of the U. S. of America. Putnam. $4 net.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Ferrero, G., and Barbagallo, C. A Short History of Rome. Putnam. $1.90 net.
Haskins, C. H. Norman Institutions. Harvard University Press. $2.75 net.
McAuley, M. E. Germany in War-Time. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. $1.50.
Plutarch. Translated by B. Perrin. Lives: Vol. V. Putnam.
Todd, A. J. Theories of Social Progress. Macmillan. $2.25.

SCIENCE

Dimock, J. A. The New Business of Farming. Stokes. $1 net.
Downing, E. R. The Third and Fourth Generation. An Introduction to Heredity. University of Chicago Press. $1 net.
Marriott, A. E. Hand-to-Hand Fighting. Macmillan. $1 net.
Putz, F. E. Fieldbook of Insects. Putnam. $2.50 net.

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Summary of the News

THE German advance into Russia and the general disintegration of Russia's armed resistance have been the most discouraging events of the week to the cause of the Allies. On the failure of the peace negotiations between the German and Russian delegates at Brest-Litovsk, the armistice between the Central Powers and Russia was declared at an end, and two German armies at once invaded Russia, one in the north, advancing beyond Riga, the other farther south through Volhynia to aid the Ukraine in its struggle against the Russian Bolsheviki. The northern armies, proceeding through Livonia, Courland, and Lithuania, have seized Dvinsk and Minsk, while the southern forces have taken Lutsk in Volhynia. This advance covers a front from Volhynia to the Baltic, and in addition to large numbers of prisoners, vast stores of war materials have fallen into the hands of the Central Powers, including 1,353 guns, 120 machine guns, between four and five thousand motor cars, and one thousand freight cars filled with food, airplanes, and other booty. German troops are approaching the Russian naval base at Reval, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, and the Russian soldiers and sailors stationed there have refused to fight against them. Although the Government of Trotzky and Lenine issued a proclamation from the Smolny Institute, the Bolshevist headquarters, calling on all Russians to defend their country, there has been apparently little real resistance to the invaders. In the Ukraine the civil war between the inhabitants and the Bolshevist forces, resulting in the capture of Kiev by the Bolsheviki, with the loss of 4,000 dead and 7,000 wounded, led to the intervention of the Central Powers. At present, German troops, in coöperation with Ukrainian units, are about 100 miles west of Kiev, advancing upon the town. Owing to conditions in Russia itself, in the Ukraine, and in Finland, Lenine and Trotzky, acting for the Central Executive of the Soviets, have declared it necessary to make peace with the Central Powers and will send a delegation to Brest-Litovsk to sign a separate peace. The terms of peace demand the surrender of some of Russia's richest provinces and practically the whole western extension of the former Russian Empire.

ANARCHY in Finland and the Aland Islands, owing to clashes between the Moderate Government and the Bolsheviki, has led to the intervention of Sweden and to her seizure of the Aland Islands. The Swedish Parliament adopted the Government's proposal for military intervention, and the project was carried out under an agreement arrived at between the Finnish Red Guards, supported by the Russians, and the White Guard, which is attempting to overthrow the Bolsheviki.

THE Inter-Allied Labor Conference, representing the Socialist or Labor parties of France, England, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and South Africa, met in London during the week ending February 23. The war aims, practically endorsing those of the British Labor Conference on December 28, are stated as involving the establishment of a league of nations, with international coöperation for disarmament and the prevention of future warfare; the restoration of Belgium, Servia, Rumania, and Montenegro; the determination of future territorial changes to be based on justice and right, and the repudiation of economic boycotts after the war. Arthur Henderson, leader of the British Labor party; Albert Thomas, the French delegate; and Emile Vandervelde, Socialist leader in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, were the most influential leaders of the conference. It was voted to convene an immediate conference between the Socialists of the Allies and of Germany; to call an international Socialist conference to sit concurrently with the future official peace conference; and to demand that a Socialist representative be included by every nation in its official delegation to the peace conference. A delegation of five members, headed by Camille E. Huysmans, secretary of the international Socialist organization, is to be sent to the United States "for the purpose of conferring with the representatives of the American democracy on the war situation."

NORWAY has finally entered into a trade agreement demanded by the Allies after compacts had been negotiated with other European neutral countries. Norway is to receive 10,000,000 bushels of wheat and rice and certain specified amounts of meat, cotton, wool, sugar, oil, lead, and other commodities. In return she promises that no part of these imports shall reach the Central Powers, and no food except 28,000 tons of fish per annum. By these trade compacts with the neutrals the export of raw material for munitions for the Central Powers will be greatly reduced, and the use of many of Holland's and Sweden's ships is gained for the Allies. By an agreement with Spain, Spanish ships will be freed to carry army supplies from Spain to France direct.

THE submarine sinkings of British merchantmen during the past week numbered only fifteen, twelve of these being over 1,600 tons, three under that tonnage. Italian shipping losses during the same week, ending February 20, were two steamships of more than 1,500 tons and one sailing vessel. There were no French losses reported.

THE fighting on the western and Italian fronts has remained negligible in results during the past week. Minor operations for reconnoitring purposes, raids, and artillery engagements have continued on both sides, but most of these local attacks have been simply in the nature of "feelers"; possibly some of them have been preparatory to the "great offensive" which continues to hang fire. In the French sector there was artillery fighting in the region of the Butte du Mesnil, where American batteries are stationed; in the Champagne, in Lorraine, in the Vosges Mountains, and in Upper Alsace.

ON the American sector our infantry have been busy in scouting expeditions in the region of the Chemin des Dames, while our artillery took part, as was stated, in encounters southwest of the Butte du Mesnil. Gen. Pershing has completed a tour of inspection of the American sector northwest of Toul, and arrangements have been made to better the condition and welfare of our troops in action. American soldiers who have completed their first period of service in the trenches are now on leave at Aix-les-Bains, the first of a series of rest centres to be established for the American contingent in France.

RAIDS near Passchendaele in Flanders, in the valley of the Scarpe, near Lens, and in the country above Cambrai have been frequent. The British have taken over another sector of the French front below St. Quentin, increasing their mileage appreciably. On the Italian front, artillery engagements have continued east of the Brenta, on the Asiago Plateau, along the middle course of the Piave, and on the Trentino, but nothing decisive is reported.

THE British advance in Palestine has been progressing favorably under Gen. Allenby. The British forces have advanced two miles east of Jerusalem on a fifteen-mile front, and have captured Jericho, an important step toward establishing touch between the British and their Arab allies. Gen. Allenby's forces are now camped on the banks of the Jordan, so that they are protected against all but frontal attacks. Direct rail communication with Egypt has been completed, in order to facilitate offensive operations.

AIR operations during the past week have been favored by clear weather, and the British succeeded in bombing the German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and attacked enemy concentrations at Ghent and Lille. The Germans also have been active, and their aircraft are increasing above the American sectors, coming and going at will. On the Italian front, British airmen are constantly harassing enemy airdromes, and five Allied airmen, flying over the Alps, attacked Innsbruck, the capital of Tyrol.

THE British Premier, Lloyd George, again weathered a ministerial "crisis" when he addressed the House of Commons on February 19. He defended the Inter-Allied Council of Versailles by declaring unity of war control essential, with all military operations to be determined by an Allied military staff. The hostility caused by Gen. Robertson's retirement has subsided, and the Premier's statement that the military plan agreed upon by the Versailles Council "was due largely to the strong, logical representations which the American delegates had submitted" emphasized the influence which American policy had exercised in the results of the conference.

THE most critical period in the food history of this nation and her allies within sixty days is predicted by Food Administrator Herbert C. Hoover. The congestion of the railways and the consequent delay of shipments abroad are phases of this serious situation for which a solution must be at once found by increased rail movement of foodstuffs; 8,000,000 bushels of grain must be loaded daily for this period if the crisis is to be overcome.

ANOTHER tragedy of the sea has occurred on the Newfoundland coast, near Cape Race, where the liner Florizel, of the Red Cross Line, went ashore in a blizzard and was pounded to pieces on the rocks. The Florizel, with 147 persons on board, was bound from Halifax to New York. At the present moment ninety-two are reported lost, forty-four saved.

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